

WOMEN IN TURKISH SOCIETY

*Seljuks, Ottoman Empire, and
Turkish Republic*

Editor
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe ERKMEN



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Women in Turkish Society: Seljuks, Ottoman Empire, and Turkish Republic

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*“A society, a nation consists of two kinds of people, men and women.
Is it even possible that while half of a society is chained to the land,
the other half can rise to the sky!”*

Mustafa Kemal ATATÜRK.

PREFACE

Woman is the female of the human species. The survival of societies depends on the existence of women. As Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk said, “*Everything in the world is the work of women*”. A woman is a person who creates yesterday, today, and tomorrow and is the hope of the future. The educated women, who have important abilities and functions, ensure that the society is educated and developed. So much so that it is women who ensure the continuity of generations and have an important place in raising children. Undoubtedly, women’s conscious act of motherhood is one of the main factors for societies to be strong.

The position of women and men in society has varied since ancient times. For example, in the first human societies, the physical strength of the woman gave an advantage over the bare body characteristics of the man. In the process in question, it is thought that the woman derives this power from her giving birth to the human generation (“the creator” for that period) and her bodily power that feeds and raises her baby with the milk flowing from her breast (miraculously for the period). Women in this period were regarded as the epitome of creativity and fertility. It is assumed that the feeling of love and gratitude, not “servitude”, is at the center of this social mechanism, which is called matriarchy. This is because in this age of humanity’s first social experience, there is an opinion that the union of men and women in the distribution of roles in production and life is not based on the “master-slave” relationship. However, women have lost this respectable power over time due to ongoing social changes. Due to various reasons, especially the element of war, men became superior with the realization of their physical strength. As a result, women had to leave their powerful position to men, evolved into a position in need of protection over time and had to abide by the patriarchal order. However, this situation did not continue for some societies, especially for western societies. This was because in the Age of Enlightenment (1715-1789), there was a break in favor of women. So much so

that the women rejected the gendered role that society attributed to them. They realized the skill and were capable of again, they wanted to be included in the life that goes on outside the household, moreover, they wanted to take part in the management. With this thought in mind, they started to fight. Throughout this fight, men who shared the same thoughts on equality between two sexes also supported women. This situation was seen in the same way in the Ottoman Empire as in the western countries.

Undoubtedly, women's refusing to be marginalized and demanding their personal rights has been met with reaction from some parts of the society and even caused uneasiness. For this reason, the struggle to defend women's rights has been quite difficult and arduous. This difficult struggle of women continues in some societies today. At this point, there are conflicts between the two sexes to fulfill the ideals of existence. While the men-dominated powers are trying to ensure the continuation of the existing order, women continue to struggle with overt or indirect methods, depending on the conditions of the day, to reveal their suppressed identity.

The Turkish woman, the subject of this study, had an important and respected position in most of the Turkish states in history. Not content with the woman's housework, working in the field and in the market, taking on government duties from time to time and engaging in social activities, the absence of "purdah" and the adoption of monogamy are important in terms of showing the position of women in Turks. Of course, this equality has not always been seen or to the same degree in every Turkish society. Turkish women have also experienced the processes in which restrictions were imposed on the living space due to the cultures encountered or the beliefs adopted. Currently, some studies to ensure gender equality in some societies are continuing. In this process, studies on gender equality both in Turkey and in other societies have evolved to be handled within the framework of "*human rights*". In this context, a lot of research has been done on the subjects such as Turkish women's social, cultural, economic, political and legal problems, equality between women and men, women's status and ability to improve their abilities, etc. and many works have been written. Women-themed research, which has become more comprehensive in the 21st century, has rapidly taken on an interdisciplinary structure. Thus, qualified works began to be written and projects started. Especially in recent studies, the relationship between history and women has been the focus. So much so that with the research, it is aimed to go down to the roots of how the woman's perspective on life is. Based on the thought in question, this study named "*Women in Turkish Society: Seljuks, Ottoman Empire, and Turkish Republic*" has been conducted.

I would like to thank those who responded to my invitation with their valuable works and contributed to the research to be done in this field: Prof. Dr. Berna BALCI İZGİ, Prof. Dr. Yücel KARADAŞ, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat FİDAN, Asst. Prof. Dr. Orhun Burak SÖZEN, Asst. Prof. Dr. Fatma Çapan, Asst. Prof. Dr. Özlem Muraz BUDAK, Asst. Prof. Dr. Sibel KARADENİZ YAĞMUR, Asst. Prof. Dr. Atik ASLAN, Dr. Nevim TÜZÜN, Dr. Ercan YÜCEL, Res. Asst. Dr. Ömür YANAR, Res. Asst. Ayşe KARAKOÇ, Mine KARTAL, İlayda YILDIRIM, Yasemin KARAKOÇ and İlker EROĞLU.

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CHAPTER I

TURKISH WOMEN'S ADVENTURE OF STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE IN WORKING LIFE*

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1. Introduction

While employment, as a concept, concerns and affects every individual living in a country, on the other hand, it is a concept with a very wide content that affects and concerns countries, especially developing countries, politically, socially, and economically. Employment can be defined as allowing employees to participate in production activities and participate or participate in the economy (Köklü, 1973). While the ongoing globalization throughout the world affects every aspect of our economic and social life, it also affects the employment of societies in the current labor market (Koç, 2014). The individual is considered among the basic and indispensable elements of economic systems. However, the fact that women, who make up half of the world's population in the historical process, have not been able to find enough space in economic growth in terms of labor force, also comes across as a reality.

* This study has been prepared by taking into account the master's thesis named "The history of women's employment in Turkey and the steps taken to improve it".

As in the past, the position of the woman is at the secondary level in business life as well as in home life (Özmen, 2011).

Women's work is seen as a secondary income contribution to household income in our country. Instead of this contribution, the understanding that a woman should take care of household chores, satisfy her husband's tastes and desires, and deal with basic affairs such as the care and upbringing of the child she gave birth to be the most important obstacle to the sustainability of women's employment. The point of view of women in societies is shaped by the attraction that exists due to her creation. Religious approaches and cultural formations in societies are also the reason for the main differences in this point of view. But the unchanging reality is that the discriminatory point of view towards women's employment exists in every society. This discrimination situation, which causes imbalances in the labor market, is also observed in our country. The point of view based on the observed sexist discrimination against women in Turkish society from past to Dec is one of the reasons that make it difficult for women, who make up half of our population, to participate in the labor market (Susam, 2013). This situation is not limited to participation in the workforce, but is also closely related to the process of being able to stay in the current job permanently.

The structure of employment and the unemployment figures of the country are among the main factors that show the economic development of a country. The prevalence of employment of all individuals, male and female, in a country with reasonable unemployment rates means that this country is a developed country with sustainable economic growth. On the other hand, regardless of the level of economic development achieved as a result of the effective use of production factors, the understanding of negative discrimination against women in the use of labor continues. This situation comes across as a reality that exists in every society of the developed, developing or backward world.

The mass production that emerged after the industrial revolution has brought about changes in the understanding of employment diversity as well as in production diversity (Yılmaz and Zoğal, 2015: 8). In the period of the Ottoman Empire in the agricultural sector contribute to the production of industrial space at home or in households with counter Board of Turkish women in labor force participation and employment, male employment with mass production emerged in the process by quite factory remained in the background. The most important problem faced in Turkey after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent declaration of the Republic was the significant loss of the male workforce in the First World War. In the face of this problem, the government

has tried to implement practices such as the effective use of the entire population of our country and the promotion of women's employment with the laws passed on the economic importance of labor force participation. In later stages, the Second World War, stagnation of industrialization in Turkey, along with the strengthening of women's employment in the country into economic crisis and political developments on the front of it. After the 1980s, respect for labor began to gain importance within the framework of the industrialization initiatives that emerged in Turkey, and migration movements from village to city accelerated.

Considering all these developments, "What are the periods of women's employment in Turkey?" and "What steps have been taken by governments to strengthen women's employment in Turkey and what have been their repercussions?" the answers to your questions will be sought in this study. It will be emphasized that the fact that women are lagging behind men in employment participation for reasons such as education, gender, age, marital status today is an important economic problem that still remains relevant in our country. On the other hand, it will be tried to determine the size of the potential labor force that is being lost due to the fact that women, who make up half of the young population of our country, cannot be employed. In this study, the historical development of women's employment in Turkey and new approaches to policies aimed at increasing women's employment will be contributed by revealing.

2. The Importance and General Structure of Women's Employment in Turkey

Employment is about the inclusion of the natural resources of the country, such as labor, capital and labor force, into the economic process by using the least resources (Çoban, 2013). The mentioned here refers not only to human labor, but also to the participation of production-based elements such as machinery, land, factories used in production, as well as labor in production activities. Employment is divided into three groups as full employment, underemployment and overemployment. Employment that deals with the use of available resources at an adequate level with minimal waste of resources is called full employment (Ardıç, 2006), while employment that studies the causes of insufficient use of resources and the problems it causes is called underemployment (Tekeli et al., 2012). Excessive employment, on the other hand, deals with the overuse of production by using the resources at hand more than usual (Rehin, 1996).

It tries to present two perspectives on how women's labor force participation patterns are shaped in developing countries and their effects on economic

development levels. The first of these are modernist thinkers. According to them, with the economic development, the changing professional structure of the country and the increasing educational opportunities are positively affected by women's participation in the labor force. The second is the World system thinkers. According to them, the increased labor force participation rate in the context of international trade theory is explained by the traditional comparative advantage (Alexander, 2013: 14). It is possible to explain the participation of women in the labor force in four main sub-headings: Neo-classical, Marxist, Feminist and Preference Theory frameworks (Palaz, 2002; Ataman, 2009; Altınbaş, 2006).

The entry of women into business life in Turkey gained momentum with the proclamation of the republic, became even more important with the migration to large cities, and after the economic crises and events that took place in the global world, women's employment in the labor market in our country began to increase. However, it is also known that women in our country face many obstacles to their retention in business life upon entering and after entering the labor market (Öğüt, 2006: 57). At the beginning of these barriers is cultural discrimination against women. In Turkey, women are forced to choose between family life and business life, and this situation causes women's reluctance to enter business life. As a result of this, women cannot participate in the labor market by putting their working life in the second place (Susam, 2013).

2.1. The Importance of Women's Employment in Turkey

The effective use of the limited resources they have countries, the creation of capital accumulation, increasing productivity, and protection of investment in human resources in accomplishing the goals were followed by developments in technology and science and implementation to achieve sustainable growth and development are working with the main economic objectives (Uruk and Yenilmez, 2015: 138). Investing in the human resource involved in technology development will also mean investing in productivity growth. In cases where women, who usually make up half of the country's population, can be evaluated in terms of human resources, it is possible to double productivity, so women's contributions to the sustainable growth and development of the country play a very important role.

It is noted that women's labor force participation rates are low, especially in developing countries, and their importance in achieving development is further understood. In Turkey, women's active role in the labor force is now considered

an important element of economic growth and development. In today's Turkey, it is possible to divide the female profile into rural and urban residents according to the socio-cultural characteristics contained in the structural characteristics. Women in rural life can be divided into two as "village and town" women and women in urban life can be divided into three as "slum, city and metropolis" women. Women who want to be employed in cities have low labor demand due to the supply of young men who are ready to work in all conditions and in all kinds of jobs, citing situations such as pregnancy, maternity leave, child care, compared to rural women. Urban women can find jobs in qualified places because they are more educated than rural women, while rural women work in agriculture and animal husbandry-related jobs that have not changed over the years and are similar to each other (Orçan, 2008:24-40).

Women have been members of Turkish society that have not been at the forefront of the historical process but have played an active role in the advancement of economic growth. The inclusion of women in the working life in our society is not only a contribution to economic development, but also important for the emancipation of man and human labor, for women to find more space for themselves in society, and for the transition from a male-dominated society to a society with an egalitarian understanding. The high level of participation of the country's population in the labor force is desirable from the point of view of economic systems. For this reason, the employment of women and the woman pushed out of the labor market, which pose an obstacle to marital status, education, having children in the age group 0-5, gender inequality and factors such as migration to cities from rural areas for legal aimed at eliminating the inadequacies in developing countries, as policies are developed and implemented in recent years (KEIG, 2013:7; Korkmaz ve Korkut, 2012:42).

Raising the social status of women is directly proportional to increasing their participation in the workforce. Since the more active and productive women are in a society, the more developed society will be, the more effectively women participate in the process of social and economic development, support for the workforce and employment is an important element in the realization of both social and individual sustainable development. Apart from social and familial benefits, women's participation in the labor force is also important for women's own benefits individually. Having a woman's own income will reduce her economic dependence, as well as ensure that women will not be victimized by issues such as domestic violence, harassment, early marriage, premature birth, which women in our country are often exposed to. As a result, despite all

these social and economic benefits, it is observed that women's employment in Turkey is quite low (Şenol, Mazman 2013: 152).

2.2. Women's Employment in the Period of the Ottoman Empire

As stated by Quataert in his statement "women's labor was an integral part of Ottoman manufacturing of the 19th century" in the working life of the Ottoman period, the role of women's labor force in the field of industry based on arm strength is at the forefront (Makal 2010: 17). Turkish women living in rural areas in the Ottoman Empire worked as producers in the field to contribute to meeting household needs, woven rugs, carpets and fabrics on their worktops at home with wool that they spun as they had been doing since Central Asia (Özbay 2003: 35-36). On the other hand, women from the palace and the city are more in the consumer position, but urban women in large cities are engaged in commercial activities, engaged in some crafts such as candle manufacturing, shop, house, garden, field, such as real estate they own, textile trade (Sağ, 2001: 15; Solak and Uysal, 2016: 991-992; Gerber, 1980: 333-336).

At the end of the 18th century, the Industrial Revolution, which began to appear in European Countries, significant changes in the labor market female workers living and quantity of positions in terms of the labor force has brought changes that will be regarded as an important milestone in the historical development of (Berg, 1991: 1). The phenomenon of female labor is paid to this aspect, which has an important role in shaping the development of the industrial revolution, women made gains in terms of wages and working where both skill and has contributed to the understanding of employment status (Bozkaya, 2013: 71).

The understanding of industrialization and mass production, accelerated by the fact that the power of steam can be used in machinery, has begun to have its effects first in Europe and then in America. The energy supply required to obtain steam power was provided by coal. Jul. The preferred employment of large masses of male population who have migrated from the countryside to the city due to the developments in agriculture for working in coal mines has strengthened the understanding that the employment gap arising in factories should be met with women (Özer and Biçerli, 2004: 57). In every society in the world of crafts, free farm labor, such as child care has become a tradition in the business and women who were observed after the Industrial Revolution, developments, along with the inequalities between women and men continues each if paid in exchange for labor has started to become. Due to the increase in

the participation rates of women in production, there are also increases in their legal achievements (Levent et al., 2018: 249).

After the Edict of Tanzimat (1839), the participation of women in the labor force, which is an important element of sustainable development, in the process of industrialization moves that began to be seen in the Ottoman Empire, began, albeit partially. Turkish women who started to earn money in carpet weaving workshops began to work in other factories, especially in Bursa Silk Factory after the 1860s, as Arab, Armenian, Greek and Christian women were used as labor force in factories (Makal, 2010: 17-18). It is also seen that women contributed to the employment process as teachers in education and nurses and midwives in the field of health in this period (Aslan, 2006: 120-126). The Ottoman Women's Progress Society, which was founded in 1908 during the Second Constitutional Period, provided information about women's rights and solidarity such as the Teali-i Vatan-ı Osmani Ladies Cemiyeti, Mamulat-ı Internal Iye Women's Society-i Hayriyyesi and the Ottoman Women's Şevkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyyesi that would support the start of working life especially for urban Turkish women (Dulum, 2006: 62-63).

Influenced by social, political and economic developments during the First World War and the War of Independence, the Turkish woman began to regain her lost status by revealing her work force in the areas vacated from the male individuals detained. Women who have started to be employed in government departments have started to be in working life in many fields from tailoring to barber (Atıl, 2009: 353). In this context, one of the women on the other hand, tobacco, cotton, figs, and grapes in different agricultural production and processing, such as the Ministry of Finance in business and workforce participation in public institutions like the post office, while on the other hand, under the structure of the battalion of female workers, both logistically and in the back like military duty have taken active roles in health (Kaymaz, 2010: 340). The Ottoman Bank, established in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, was another field of study for the Turkish woman. 55% of the women working in various jobs such as bank registration, translation, typewriter use, classification, box office attendant, coupon counting and secretarial jobs are Turkish or Ottoman citizens (Ammour and Baruh 1999:144).

The Industrial Census conducted in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire (1915) contains information that almost a third of those employed in industrial organizations are women (Makal, 2010: 18). During this period, 71% of the employees in the canning works, 95% of the employees in the production of

raw silk, 63% of the employees in the silk weaving, and 70% of the employees in the weaving were female workers. It is understood that women working in these jobs are not paid according to the “equal work equal pay” policy, and they are paid half the wage given to men according to the rules of Islamic Law (Demir, 2008:18). In the regions where agricultural-based industrial enterprises are concentrated, Ottoman women were actively involved in working life in cotton enterprises, tobacco enterprises, in the process of grape and dried fruit production in the vicinity of Izmir, Aydın and Menteşe (Yaşar, 2007: 13).

As a result, the impression is strongly observed that there was an increase in the active participation of women and children in the life of employment as a labor force in the Ottoman Empire between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This situation refers to the fact that due to the fact of the war that occurred during the period, the necessary labor gap must be filled on the part of women in order to maintain economic and commercial life after the conscription of the population that makes up the male labor force (Makal 2010: 19). (Ağabey Osmanlı

2.3. Women’s Employment in the First Years of the Republican Era

After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the fundamental regulations made in the legal, economic, and cultural fields as well as in the active working life brought new gains to the Turkish women (Önder, 2013: 39). Many laws enacted during this period also influenced the determination of the position of women in working life. However, it should not be overlooked that there are similarities between the positions of women in the Ottoman period and those in the first years of the Republic, and that there are innovations specific to the transition period. For example, the process of transporting women’s labor, which we encountered at the end of the Ottoman Empire, from stalls in the house to workshops and from there to factories established through a state or private enterprise, continued during the new period when the Republic was proclaimed and after. During these periods, women mostly worked in small-scale production activities, sometimes on a paid basis, providing both household needs and contributing to the country’s economy. In addition, it is understood that women support agriculture and farming more in large cities in areas of activities such as weaving, food, tobacco and liquor, and in rural areas (Ayata, 1987).

The start of a new era and made radical changes in all areas of economic policy of the Republic, 17 February-4 March 1923 in a store in Izmir in many

parts of the country from the grape in the society industrialists, merchants, workers and farmers participated as a delegate of Turkey economic Congress in Izmir economy Congress or 1. (Şahinkaya, 2014:35). At this congress, the economic problems of the new Turkey were discussed and the economic policy was determined. During this period, when women's labor force was used as much as possible under the severe economic conditions of the war period and their participation in employment became mandatory, women were invited to the congress together with male workers (Hafizoğulları, 1999: 345-348). Resolutions were adopted in the Congress on the preparation of legislation for granting paid leave for eight weeks and three days a month before and after childbirth for female workers participating in employment, granting representation rights to female workers, and prohibiting women from working in mines (İnan, 1972:77-81). It is understood that these decisions aimed at protecting women employees and increasing their rights are large-scale decisions, taking into account the conditions of the period.

An increase in the need for a female workforce during periods of economic growth is a natural consequence. This situation is also observed in the early years of the Republic, when an effort was made to grow rapidly and development gained momentum. In this context, arrangements have been made to encourage women to take more part in production. With the regulations, Turkish women who started to transition from unpaid family labor to paid employees or even employers entered into a process in which they gradually reduced their dependence on men (Çolak, 2004). Izmir economic Congress started to occur in the context of the decisions of the Republican era of innovations and contributions to the social life of Atatürk's principles and reforms and modernization efforts that are supported by legal equality, in non-agricultural sectors in economic development have resulted in a proliferation of examples of Turkish women. Thanks to this, there is practically no branch of profession closed to women in today's Turkey.

Economic policies and principles applied with special effort and diligence in order to ensure the economic development needed in the early periods of the republic were instrumental in the establishment and development of domestic industry. The statist economic policy pursued in areas such as textile, mining and sugar industries, in which the state is a direct investor, has also led to an increase in the number of women workers employed during attempts to meet the growing need for workers. The increased employment of women was supported by the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law (Education Union Law) and the Teşkilat-ı Esasiye Law, which contained regulations in favor of women in the legal field of the country

in 1924. Along with the fact that primary education was made mandatory for all Turkish children by the Law of the Teşkilat-ı Esasiye, it was also legally mandatory for women to receive education for the first time. With the opening of vocational schools such as teaching, midwifery and nursing, which were opened only for girls, women's professional development was supported and their participation in working life became encouraged as a state policy. In 1925, a social and cultural way with a dress law of women who have come issued in the same year, taken under the protection of the legal rights of all employees with the Law No. 394 (Law No. 2739 has been updated with this act in 1935) was supported in the legal sense (Kocacık ve Gökkaya, 2005: 200-201). Women have started to enjoy many new rights in the legal sense with the Civil Code adopted in 1926 and for the first time women have gained the right to equality with men in a real sense.

With the introduction of the Incentive-i Industrial Law (1927), the state has made great strides in the field of industry and laid the foundations of workers' rights, performance-based production, the industrial sector instead of the service and agricultural sector in the country. After examining the organizations covered by the law a few years after the entry into force of this law, it was determined that one out of every four workers employed in the country was a woman. The noteworthy aspect of the research is that Dec the employed workers under the age of fourteen, the proportion of girls is significantly higher. This is due to the high level of employment due to the need for a female workforce in the weaving and tobacco sectors (Tökin, 1946: 58). Like other adult workers in industrial enterprises, women and child workers are provided with the following mandatory provisions regarding the subject of work, length of leave, working age and different working conditions The first step was taken by the Public Health Protection Law (General Health Protection Law), which was adopted on April 24, 1930 (Önder, 2013: 39). Within the scope of the law, significant changes were made in the working patterns and rights of women and child workers who joined the labor force, the leave periods of women and child workers were regulated, restrictions were placed on their working ages, sectors where employees in this group could and could not work were determined and protective provisions were introduced. Again, with the granting of the right to elect and elect women in local elections in 1930 and in general elections in 1934, women have strengthened their position in society by starting to use one of the basic citizenship rights in a political sense.

the Labor Law No. 3008, which was adopted in 1936 to regulate working life comprehensively, has been re-arranged the working conditions of female employees from the very beginning, just like those of other employees (Yaşar, 2007: 14). However, in this law, which is also considered as the beginning of the process leading to the social law of an individual, it is noteworthy that there are also issues that are not clarified depending on the conditions of the day on issues such as women's employment, work and wages (Önder, 2013: 39). The understanding of gender-based different wages has continued. In 1937, the ILO Convention No. 45, an international organization, on the Prohibition of Women from Working in Mines and Underground January was approved and started to be implemented. For the first time, women workers were included in fairly comprehensive social guarantees when the conditions of the day were taken into account with the "Occupational Accidents, Occupational Diseases and Maternity Insurance Law" adopted in 1945 (Atıl, 2009: 354).

Table 1. Occupations by Gender in the 1927 Census

Profession	Male	%	Woman	%	Total	%
Agriculture	2.678,737	40.9	1.689,234	23.9	4.368,061	32.0
Industry	266.895	4.1	32.474	0.5	299.369	2.2
Trade	248.512	3.8	8.843	0.1	257.355	1.9
Free	45.247	0.7	7.416	0.1	52.663	0.4
Unprofessional	2.960,128	45.1	5.318,145	75.2	8.278,273	60.7

Source: General Directorate of Statistics, 1929, s. 46.

According to the census conducted in 1927, the proportion of women working in the agricultural sector was 40.9%, while the proportion of women working in the industrial sector was 4.1%. Although it is understood that there is a difference in the employment of women according to sectors in Table 1, the presence of 45.1% non-professional women is quite remarkable. The Deceleration of the human need for agriculture with mechanization is among the factors that accelerate the migration movement from village to city throughout the country. In large cities, increases due to the political, economic and military conditions of the period have begun to be observed in the employment of women who have migrated from village to city in the industrial sector. However, the unskilled status of women migrating to cities has caused the demand for them in employment to

decrease over time and the increase of informal employment due to the fact that they do not want to be granted rights such as insurance and maternity leave.

Data on the female labor force during the Republican period were obtained as a result of the Industrial Census conducted in 1927 to cover all branches of industry. In the census, workplaces employing four or more workers were taken into account by gender. According to this census, the female employee ratio is 25.58%. That is, one out of every four people working is a woman. It can be listed as the fact that employment is excessive in traditional sectors where women work, the male workforce is decreasing due to wars, and women who have lost their spouses are forced to enter the labor force. Looking at the data obtained as a result of the Industry Census; all enterprises nationwide number 65,245. It was determined that 48,025 people work in the weaving industry, 256,855 people work in agriculture and animal husbandry, 18,932 people work in the mining industry, 24,264 people work in the forest products and oil industry (Makal, 2010).

Table 2: Number and percentage changes of employees by gender after the Labor Code of 1936

	1937	%	1943	%	1947	%
Child (12-18)	23.347	8,8	51.871	18,86	20.845	7,21
Woman	50.131	8,89	56.937	20,7	50.851	17,59
Male	191.863	72,11	166.275	60,45	217.451	75,2
Total	265.341	100	275.083	100	289 147	100

Source: Makal, 2010:23

The first job statistics were carried out in Turkey in 1937, 1943 and 1947. Accordingly, in a study conducted in 1937, the proportion of paid working men was 72.11%, while in a study conducted in 1943, that is, during the war years, it was found that this proportion decreased to 60.45%. As can be seen from Table 2, the number of female employees employed in workplaces subject to the Labor Law was 50,131, and the rate was 18.89%; In 1943, the number of employees increased to 56,937, and the rate increased to 20.70%, resulting in an increase of about 12% in female employment. In 1947, the total number of workers was 289,147; in this total, the number of female employees was 50,851 and the proportion was 17.6% (Makal, 2010:23). In the same way, an increase

in child employment was observed. This situation reflects the positive impact of the economic surge brought about by wartime on women's employment. It is also understood from these job statistics that the Labor Law of 1936 applies that there are wage differences between employees doing the same job (Makal, 1999: 360-364). According to the law, the instructions that employers have to prepare for the workers they employ reveal this situation in all its nakedness (Kuruç, 1987: 80-82). For example; In this period, in the instructions of a company that produced matches and lighters in Turkey, children aged 13-16 were paid 6 cents, children aged 17-18 received 7 cents, men aged 19 and over received 8 cents, and women over 19 received 7 cents. As it can be understood from here, while there is no gender discrimination among child workers, it is seen that there is a difference in remuneration between adult women and men (Güzel, 1987: 194).

The development movements in industrialization, which began with the proclamation of the republic and were carried out by the hands of the state, were negatively affected by the Second World War. This new war, which began before the effects of the First World War were fully eliminated, led to the fact that a significant part of the male population in the countries was conscripted. The resulting decrease in employment was tried to be solved by employing the female population by the state hand. After the industrial Revolution, the Second World War, which is considered to be the second millennium that affected women's participation in the labor force, was the scene of an intensive entry of women into the labor markets during the war. Along with the employment process, women left domestic production and started working in the carpet making, weaving and tailoring sectors, which were at their peak in order to meet military needs in particular. Although some of the employed women returned home after the war, they continued to be employed in a significant labor market (Coldth, 1989: 1-3).

2.4. Women's Employment between the 1950s and the 2000s

With the increase of industrialization in the 1950s, women in the population who migrated from the village to the city began to take a more active role in non-agricultural business life in real terms. Urban life, on the one hand, has shaped the structure of Turkish family life, and on the other hand, it has shaped and changed the positions of women in society and in their working lives (Berber and Eser 2008: 3). Women have achieved a better status compared to those in the village with the education they have started receiving in city life. Women who

have started to become conscious have started to do things such as housework, child or patient care that they have traditionally done outside for a fee, and have been involved in the service sector and all other sectors where there are men. After migration from village to city, the population density and the excess of labor resources in metropolitan cities have caused the informal employment of women and the inability to take advantage of other opportunities other than remuneration over time (Balci and Akdeniz 2011: 10).

Table 3: Decoupling of employees by gender and sectors between 1955 and 1980

Year	Male			Woman		
	Agriculture	Industry	Service	Agriculture	Industry	Service
1955	70,68	10,95	18,37	96,14	2,32	1,54
1960	66,68	11,79	21,53	95,39	2,75	1,86
1965	64,29	13,02	22,69	95,83	1,56	2,6
1970	55,58	12,36	32,07	90,3	5,12	4,58
1975	56,4	12,06	31,54	89,31	4,25	6,44
1980	44,54	15,85	39,61	87,86	5,53	7,61

Source: Tansel, 2002: 15

As can be seen from Table 3, in 1955, 96% of women and 70% of men worked in the agricultural sector. While the share of women in the agricultural sector declined slightly in 1980, the share of men declined significantly. In 1955, 10.95% of men were in the industrial sector, and in 1980 this figure increased to 15.85%. In 1955, 2.32% of women were in the industrial sector, which increased to 5.53% in 1980. It is known that these rates are quite low compared to the rates of men and women working in the industrial sector in developed countries.

The development of legislation on the protection of women workers began to strengthen with the Constitution of 1961. The “Convention on the Political Rights of Women”, approved by the United Nations on 20 December 1952, played an important role in this strengthening of the recovery of women’s rights. The contributions of the “Beijing Declaration” and “Platform for Action” conventions approved in 1995 are quite large in later years (Demirtaş and Yayla, 2017: 341). In this context, women’s employment has become one of the main economic elements of our country in the five-year development plans introduced in the 1960s along with the transition to a new planned period (Küçükkalay,

1998). The Income Tax Code, which entered into force in 1961 and was amended in 2007, exempts women from tax if products manufactured by women in households are sold in places specified by the state. The Labor Code No. 1475, which was enacted in 1971, remained in force until the new Labor Code No. 4857, which was prepared on the basis of the principle of equality between men and women, entered into force on June 10, 2003 (Atıl, 2009: 354). According to the principle of “equal pay for equal work”, the Decoupling between men and women was abolished by the Labor Code No. 1475, which was adopted in 1971. According to the Law No. 4857, it has been adopted to give paid leave to female employees for regular check-ups during and after pregnancy (Önder, 2013: 40).

Table 4: Labor force participation rates between 1955 and 1980

Census Years	Male	Woman
1955	95,4	72
1960	93,6	65,4
1965	91,8	56,6
1970	79,5	50,3
1975	80,9	47,3

Source: Tansel, 2002: 17

When we examine Table 4, it is seen that between Dec950 and 1980, the opportunities offered by the industry were mostly used by men and that women again constituted the secondary employment. In 1955, the labor force participation rate of men was 95.4% while that of women was 72%. By 1980, this ratio had decreased to 79.8% in men and 45.8% in women. The main reason for the decrease in both groups is the global economic crises of the 1980s, social and political events in our country. During the periods when industrialization accelerated, newly migrated and women with low educational level in the city worked both in small garment enterprises and at home part-time in order to make a small financial contribution to the family budget in the face of economic difficulties caused by the difficulties of city life (Dedeoğlu, 2002: 162-164).

In the five-year development plans prepared during the planned development process between 1960 and 1980, regulations aiming to improve the equality of women and men and the status of women were included. During this period, the employment of a small number of highly educated and skilled women in the service sector is attracting attention. In 1975, 3.9% of the women

were employed in the industry and 7.7% of them joined the employment in the service sector (İşler, Şentürk 2016: 615). Despite the fact that the migration movement from village to city reached extreme levels in the 1980s, the decrease in the volume of employment due to the slowdown in industrialization and the unskilled labor characteristic negatively affected women's employment. As a reflection of this, the labor force participation rate of women was 72% in 1955, and this rate decreased to 42.8% in 1990. It is stated that there are two reasons for the continuous decline of women's participation in the labor force after the 1950s (Yılmaz, et al., 2014: 92-93).

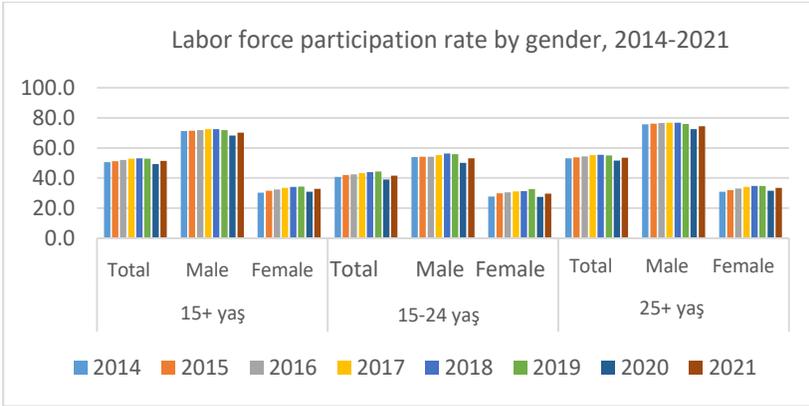
After the proclamation of the Republic, women's employment began to be given more space in the need for labor, which began to emerge due to the developments in the industrialization process in Turkey. Sunday January 24, 1980, after the adoption of neo-liberal policies by the Decisions of Turkey, there have been many changes in the economy with the transition from a mixed economic system to a market economy. In the period between 1980 and later, there were periods when there was no specific state policy aimed at increasing women's employment, and not only women's employment, but also the fight against unemployment was left to the functioning of the market itself. In contrast, serious increases in the rates of women pursuing careers related to specialization and management have increased the employment rate in sectors other than agriculture (Gürol, 2007: 145). On the other hand, increasing women's employment in the labor market and making the necessary legal arrangements have only been shaped according to the obligations in international agreements. Supported CEDAW in 1985, especially the United Nations, signed the EU accession process and compliance efforts during this period has been one of the important factors that increase women's employment in our country to remove these developments paved the way for additional measures to increase employment laws or rooted. In this context, new regulations have been October or additional articles have been added to existing laws. In 1990, the General Directorate of the Status of Women under the Prime Ministry was established to develop policies for women in our country and to protect the rights of women in many fields such as social, cultural, economic and political (Mercanlıoğlu, 2009: 37). On September 15, 1995, the 4. In accordance with the provisions of the "Beijing Declaration" and the "Platform for Action" adopted at the World Women's Conference, efforts have been made to reconcile family life and working life in order to increase women's participation in public life (Hüseyinli, 2015: 280).

Which characterize globalization, capital flows, trade and technological developments, being skilled, education policy, labor market regulations, such as the new economic policy and employment and production systems important for the economy of the nation-state made mandatory (Moghadam, 1999: 369-370). The wishes to make the world the only Sunday are made in order to ensure a social and economic transformation in which information-intensive work is essential rather than labor-intensive work to ensure the transition from industrial society to information society by removing national borders (Erdoğan, 1999: 115).

The understanding of production and flexible production system in small departments that come across with the understanding of globalization has strengthened the practice of employing employees for half a day (part-time) or short periods of time instead of full-time employment in enterprises. In this way, new opportunities have been provided for the participation of women in the labor force who cannot participate in the labor markets full-time due to their obligations such as family, children. Globalization imposes restrictions on women's ability to enjoy economic freedoms while increasing their hopes for a better and higher status in terms of increasing their chances of working (Alexander, 2013: 42). In Turkey, after the year 2000, the decrease in the public sector's activity in the economic order and the depreciation of agriculture, unemployment have increased rapidly. The female labor force has been the most affected by the growing unemployment and employment problem (Karabıyık, 2012: 232). As a result, one out of every three women were employed in the 1990s, and one out of every four women began to be employed in the 2000s. As a reflection of global socio-economic trends, women have started to be employed in low-wage jobs where there is no social security and legal protection instead of jobs that require technical knowledge (Erdoğan and Yaşar, 2018: 22-23).

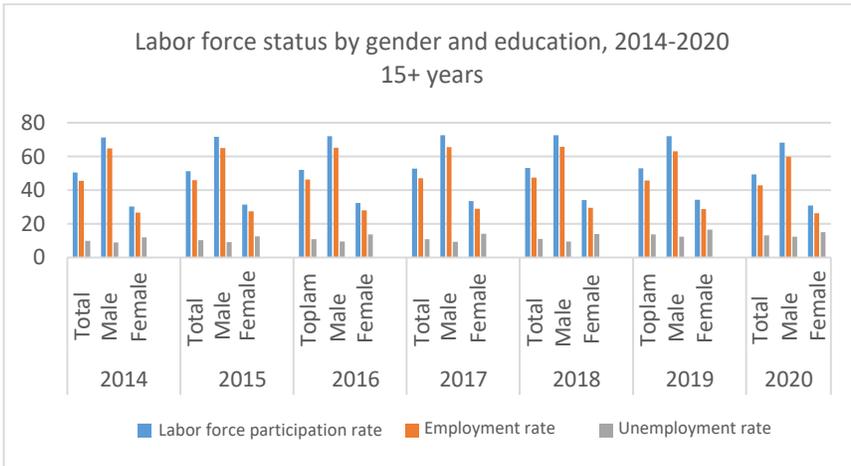
Today, societies with a level of development are evaluated not by their economic wealth, but by their qualified labor force and quality life cultures. Increasing the level of education is of great importance for women to actively participate in business life in Turkey (Kılınç, 2015: 131).

Figure 1: Labor force participation rate by gender, 2014-2021



Source: TUIK, Household Labor Force Survey, 2014-2021

Figure 2: Labor force status by gender and education status, 2014-2020 15+ years



Source: TUIK, Household Labor Force Survey, 2014-2020

As seen in Figure 1, the differences in the labor force participation of women in our country between 2014 and 2021 are given according to their age ranges. It is understood that women are in the background compared to men in their employment according to all age ranges, and that the employment rate of women in the 25+ age range is higher than in other age ranges. In Figure 2,

labor force status differences are given according to the educational status of women between 2014 and 2020. When the data are examined, it is noted that the literacy level of Turkish women is lower than that of men. While the labor force participation and employment rates of vocational high school and higher education graduates in women are at high levels compared to other educational situations, this situation is inversely proportional to unemployment rates. This shows that education is an extremely decisive factor in the employment of women in our country. The fact that the concentration of women receiving education in certain fields is a fundamental factor of the high unemployment rates observed among educated women comes to the fore.

2.5. Factors Affecting Women's Employment in Turkey

It is possible that we can express the employment of women in the labor market in the form of “social, economic and demographic” barriers. Economic barriers between education and lack of skills, to be employed in unskilled tasks, the difficulty of acquisition of the right to retire; among social barriers, gender discrimination, social pressure, and the roles of women worthy; demographic barriers, marriage, and being a mother of rural-urban migration are mentioned as obstacles such as (Varol, 2017: 92-98).

The Cultural Structure of Society: The division of labor between men and women differs according to cultural accumulation and historical developments, which vary from societies to societies. In our society, a man has a role in ensuring the family's livelihood by participating in economic activities, while a woman has a traditional role such as housework and childcare. Over time, this situation has made women dependent on men in our society, while it has been the duty of men to earn a living at home and therefore take part in the workforce. After this division of labor that our society has created among the sexes, the responsibility of women for domestic activities becomes the most important factor for their participation in the workforce (Gündoğdu, 2018: 42). Education, which has an important role in the participation of individuals in the labor force, is another cultural obstacle for women in the labor force position due to the exclusion of women from education in Turkish society. The age group differences and marital status of women are another factor affecting the labor force participation rates (Kıral and Karlılar, 2017: 274).

Glass Ceiling Syndrome: in English “Glass Ceiling” (GC) is referred to as this syndrome, which her male counterparts, women in institutions or when a more senior position in the face of rising the corporate ladder to employment

in certain industries face when trying to attempt to invisible barrier that is unofficial but real, implicit and is defined as insurmountable obstacles (Kolade and Kehinde 2013: 79). It is not as common for women in the labor market in Turkey to advance in their careers and rise to executive positions as it is for men (Karcıoğlu and Leblebici 2014: 4). The idea that the primary responsibility of women in our country is to take care of household chores, therefore they cannot give due importance to their professional work is one of the stereotypes both among employers and employees. Because of this idea, women are not given important duties and responsibilities by employers, and they are intensively employed for a long time at the lower levels. In our country, the executive staff is selected from men, there are very few female managers, and women are usually assigned to lower levels or as executive assistants. In glass ceiling syndrome, women are forced to work more in business life than men, while at the same time being forced to make a choice between becoming a mother and wife and advancing in their career (Örücü, et al., 2007: 120).

Queen Bee Syndrome: Women who make career plans in the fields of work where they are employed as a workforce see their path as a maze full of obstacles (Ellemers, 2014: 50; Decks, et al., 2016). It is very difficult for a woman who wants a leadership position in a male-dominated environment to compete with a man because of her sexual characteristics and roles (Place; 2011: 3). In order to overcome these difficulties, women's solidarity sometimes comes into play, and difficulties are tried to be overcome with supportive and tolerant approaches. Sometimes it is added to the competition with men in the competition Dec women. A woman who thinks that she has achieved a position by rising in her career in very difficult conditions perceives her fellow man as a competitor and can exert pressure on other women no different from the pressure exerted by a man in order to destroy the competition (Grünig, et al., 2001). As in all parts of the world, there are attempts by women managers to prevent other women from reaching senior management positions in the places where they work, which is expressed as Queen Bee syndrome (O'Neil, 2003:154; Adair, 2005). Queen bee syndrome can be seen not only among women in senior managerial positions but also among women in lower positions.

Mobbing (psychological abuse): we come across in every part of our social lives, and by not thinking much on it that we take the usual concept of mobbing, the Latin "mobile vulgus" is a word that is derived from; psychological violence, repression, siege, abuse, harass, or distress in the sense that it is

used (Çobanoğlu, 2005: 19). In the literature sense, mobbing is a systematic oppression of the person or group that has power in its hands for a long time by psychological means on others in groups structured in a hierarchy and organizations that have control weaknesses (Einarsen, 1999: 16; Toker, 2009: 2; Güngör, 2008: 6; Tınaz, 2006: 15).

Although mobbing is a factor affecting employment not only for women but also for men, it is a bigger problem for women in working life. The main reason for this is that women perceive uncomfortable situations differently than men, and they are more fragile due to their structure, and then they are more exposed to psychological pressure from men. In this case, women will either become a victim of mobbing in their work life, or they will try to avoid being a victim of mobbing by exhibiting masculine behaviors in a way that their gender does not require. In order not to be excluded from the employment market, women who have been psychologically harassed in our country may prefer to keep their mobbing victimization secret, which reduces their labor force participation rates and causes them to stay away from other environments that enable them to participate in social life (Çakır, 2008).

Sexual Harassment: Repeated verbal and physical approaches for sexual purposes that can affect work performance at work and create a dangerous work environment can also be expressed as disturbing a person with a variety of sexual behaviors without directly harming a person's body immunity. Sexual harassment can occur verbally, nonverbal, or physically. For example: proposing a sexual relationship, using words containing sexuality, or making jokes containing sexuality are considered verbal sexual harassment, while whistling for sexual purposes, making uncomfortable looks, and facial expressions can be considered nonverbal sexual harassment. Physical sexual harassment can occur in ways such as forcibly kissing someone, hugging for the purpose of sexuality, sexually assaulting or raping, touching for the purpose of sexuality (Özdemir, 2006:83-84).

Sexual harassment has been an employment problem that has maintained its existence in the historical process of our country. The most important problem about sexual harassment all over the world and in our country is whether a behavior can be considered sexual harassment. Because while the behavior that takes place is a behavior that is considered normal by society, if it takes place for sexual purposes, it can be harassed. For this reason, it is not possible to clearly determine the purpose for which a behavior is performed. Arrangements to eliminate harassment have started to take place as women become more involved

in the labor force, more visible in job markets, and begin to be more active as workers. Two provisions protecting employees against sexual harassment in the Labor Code No. 4857 (m. 24/2 and 25/2) are available (Demircioğlu, 2007:121).

3. Policies Aimed at Increasing Women's Employment in Turkey

3.1. *Policies determined in accordance with International and National Legislation*

As a requirement of economic growth, all developed countries are trying to employ the entire part of their population that can join the labor force. The biggest task for women in this employment effort is to participate in the workforce. However, all over the world and in our country, in relation to gender-based policies and social structure, the employment of a female individual is at lower levels than that of a male, especially in underdeveloped and developing countries. When we look at our country, it is seen that women, who make up almost half of the population, are not employed enough, and it is known that the current economic power will increase significantly if they are employed (Sağlam, 2017: 9). Within the scope of alternative programs aimed at increasing women's employment, appropriate state policies are being tried to be created.

International Legislation: Turkey has been included in a number of international conventions that are the basis for the regulations it will make in its national law, such as equality of men and women, prevention of discrimination against female individuals, aimed at supporting women's participation in the workforce (Ecevit, 2000: 171). The "Convention on the Prevention of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)" and the "International Labour Organization (ILO)" are the most important conventions in the international field where women's rights are guaranteed, approved by the UN. In Turkey, CEDAW was signed in 1985 and approved and entered into force in 1986. 4 conventions numbered 100, 111, 156 and 183 have been proposed by the International Labour Organization to prevent discrimination, protect the female workforce and increase its scope (Çayır, 2014: 10-16).

In order to Decouple gender discrimination in all jobs, positions and professional stages, regardless of the sector or field of activity of the workforce, the European Union (EU) has approved the principle of ensuring equality of employment, working conditions, promotion and vocational education between female employees and male employees. Committed to civil and political rights,

the European Convention on Human Rights, which guarantees that supports economic and Social Rights, which was enacted in 1965 and the European Social Charter (European Charter of Social Rights), signed by Turkey in 1989 (Erdoğan, 2008: 123-124). Provisions on the right to protection of working women are contained in Article 8 of the European Social Charter. It is included in the article. The Acquis of the European Union contains large-scale regulations adopted to prevent women's participation in the labor force in working life, discrimination against female individuals, and to achieve equality between men and women (Moroglu, 2006:2). Many directives on the equality of men and women have been approved and entered into force by the Council of Europe since the 1970s. In 1975, directive 75/117/EEC on the implementation of the principle of equal pay for male and female employees was aimed at bringing the laws of the member states closer. This directive has made it a priority to ensure female employees in working life and to realize equality of opportunity between men and women (Bolcan, 2010: 257-258).

National Legislation: In 2001, Articles 41 and 66 aimed at strengthening the principle of equality between men and women in our Constitution; in 2004, in Articles 10 and 90; in 2010, amendments were made to Article 10. In a referendum held in 2010, the same law was amended to state that "Women and men have equal rights. The state is obliged to ensure the realization of this equality. The measures to be taken for this purpose cannot be interpreted as contrary to the principle of equality". In the section titled "Social and Economic Rights and Duties" in Article 49 of the Constitution, the right to work has been revised and it has been stipulated that work is the right and duty of all individuals. In addition, Article 70 of the Constitution regulates the equality of women and men in entering public institutions (Metin and Kariman 2013: 17-18).

Although there are many regulations aimed at achieving equality between men and women in the working life of female individuals in Turkey, the most advanced regulations on this issue are included in the scope of the Labor Law No. 4857. Regarding women employees, Article 5 of the Labor Law There is a "Principle of Equal Treatment" in the Article. The provision of privileged coverage of female working individuals (motherhood, pregnancy and the like) is stated in Article 74 of the Labor Code under the title of "Maternity Work and Milk Leave". Women of all ages and men under the age of eighteen are prohibited under Article 72 of the Labor Code from working "underground or under water, such as in mines and cable laying, sewerage and tunnel construction." (Yuvalı, 2013: 94-104).

3.2. Policies implemented by institutions and organizations in Turkey

State and private institutions are implementing programs, projects and credit supports aimed at increasing women's employment in Turkey. The General Directorate of Women's Status and Problems (GSPM) is leading many international and national projects to promote women's employment. In this context, "project to support women's employment grandma", "elephant woman's Masters Project (2016-2017)", "training of trainers on gender equality", Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey (KAGIDER), in partnership with Intel Technology Services Limited company with "Young Ideas, projects such as the project, strong women have been implemented. The "Gender Equality Task Group of Turkey" was established in June 2012 under the leadership of KSGM, Sabancı Holding and Doğuş Holding. In 2013, this group was transformed into the "Equality Platform at Work" and "Role Model Female Employee Videos" were taken, the results of which were analyzed and turned into reports by conducting a "Survey on the Status of Women in the Workplace" in the member establishments of this platform. February November 2012- Dec 2017, the project entitled "Increasing Women's Access to Economic Opportunities" with a budget of \$ 4.5 Million was carried out in partnership with the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, the General Directorate for the Status of Women and the World Bank. (KSGM, 2018).

The Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services is leading incentives to increase women's employment. The "Project on Increasing Women's Employment", which was carried out by the Turkish Business Association in coordination with the Directorate for Coordination of the European Union and the EU Funds Coordination and Implementation Center, started in March 2011 with a financing budget of 27 Million Euros, including 85% EU contribution, 15% national contribution. Within the scope of the project, women who are unemployed for a long time due to their domestic responsibilities; women who have previously worked in the agricultural sector but have subsequently been out of the labor force; Women under the umbrella of Regional/Local governments and NGOs have been the target audience (ÇSGB, 2011: 107).

The project "Engineer Daughters of Turkey", launched in 2015, was organized by the Ministry of Family, Labor and Social Services, Limak Holding, the United Nations Development Program and T.C. It is carried out in partnership with the Ministry of National Education (TMK, 2018: 1-4). In order to support women's employment in organized industrial zones, the "My Mother's Job is My Future Project" is carried out in cooperation with the Ministry of Family

and Social Policies (ASPB), the Ministry of Science, Industry and Technology, and Borusan Holding AŞ. It is carried out within the framework of cooperation. With this project, efforts are being made to establish kindergartens in Organized Industrial Zones (OSB). The “Support for the Employment of Registered Women through Home Childcare Services Project”, implemented by the Social Security Institution (SSI) in March 2015, is funded in partnership with the Republic of Turkey and the European Union. In this context, “Child Care Home” Project a “win-win” Strategy in line with, on the one hand, women with small children are encouraged to be in the workforce, while on the other hand were tied to formal employment informal working of the babysitter (Şen, 2016: 73).

The Turkish Employment Agency (ISKUR) implements active labor market policies (AIPP) such as Vocational Training Courses, On-the-Job Training Programs, Entrepreneurship Training Programs and Community Benefit Programs to increase and protect employment and to make the unemployed skilled (Çetin, 2014: 42). Also, in 2009, the “Operation Grant Program to Support Women’s Employment”, implemented in partnership with the Ministry of Labor, the European Union and ISKUR to increase women’s employment, was implemented in 43 provinces located in the NUTS II region, which has earnings less than 75% of the Turkish average, 131 projects were carried out. With the “Women in Business Life” project initiated by ISKUR in 2013, we provided convenient credit facilities and consultancy services to enterprises opened by women and led the way in finding a place for women-oriented credit operations in the market (Fidecon, 2017:38-40). İŞKUR with the International Labor Organization (ILO) in partnership with the recruitment of unemployed women and unemployed young women who are registered to ISKUR for “more and better jobs for women: women’s empowerment project to decent work in Turkey” have begun to be implemented from June 2014 onwards (Şen, 2016: 73). Within the scope of the “Supporting Women Entrepreneurship” project, projects aimed at enabling women entrepreneurs to participate in business life and providing entrepreneurial women with trainings on developing and advancing their business are being implemented by the Confederation of Tradesmen and Artisans of Turkey and the Associations of Chambers of Tradesmen and Artisans.

3.3. Loans Aimed at Increasing Women’s Employment

Microloans are provided to women with permanent repayment loan facilities in order to encourage them to open their own businesses in order to realize women’s

employment and bring them into the economy. These financial instruments are delivered to women entrepreneurs through the Foundation for the Evaluation of Women's Labor (KEDV), the Turkish Grameen Microloan Program, the Social Risk Reduction Project, the Microloan and Community Support Project, and Provincial Special Administrations and under their control (Özmen, 2012: 109-120). The MAYA Microeconomic Support enterprise, established in 2002 by the Foundation for the Evaluation of Women's Labor as part of the "Poverty Reduction Project", also conducts similar financial support projects.

In our country, women can benefit from interest-free loans with repayment in eight years within the scope of the "Income Generating Project Support Program". In order to increase women's employment, the Ministry of Industry and Technology has provided credit support to 5 thousand newly established enterprises in the form of a grant of 30 thousand TL at the beginning and 70 thousand TL paid back for 4 years with a term and interest-free. "Women entrepreneurs loan the first step for the project" promoting entrepreneurship, increase women's employment and to ensure their participation in economic life, the people's bank for the first time or you are looking to build a business for a period of less than one year in order to benefit women in commercial lending activities (Türker, 2014).

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CHAPTER II

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES IN TURKEY BETWEEN 1990-2000

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1. Introduction

The fall of the Soviet Union in 1992 is not only an international political development. It has impacts on almost all aspects of life. Henceforth, it has strong impacts and consequences on social, cultural, and artistic domains which supply the background for this book chapter. The globalization of capitalism as an all-power imperial economic order has been the benchmark for the period between the 1990s and 2000s. Arguably, global capitalism has a direct impact on the *global* women's movement and mainstream feminist theory. The bipolar world and the capitalist versus communist dichotomy also resulted in the downsizing of the public sector, privatization of welfare state institutions, and sovereignty of global market mechanisms, which have influenced women anywhere around the globe. According to Sancar, as a repercussion of the neo-liberal policies women's organizations evolved into non-governmental organizations as perpetrators of the projects to undertake fading public services

rather than becoming organizations to fight for women's emancipation in the 1990s (Sancar, 2022, p. 59). Though arguably the cradle of post-modernism was France in the 1960s, the 1990s crowned post-modernism and post-positivism in society, science, culture, art, and even in law.

Turkey has been one of the strongholds of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization since it became a member of the organization. The fall of the Soviet Union resulted in the fall of the Warsaw Pact of the communist bloc militarily. The bipolarity can be interpreted either as unipolarity and the New World Order under the influence of the United States or multipolarity with multifocal power relations within and outside the Western world. The idea of an united Europe was strengthened by the extension policies of the European Union in the 1990s. Turkey as a worthy candidate for (full) membership of the Union signed the Customs Union Agreement with the European Union in 1992. Turkish governments of the decade supported and contributed to Turkey's (full) membership targets, one of the reasons of which Westernization has become the prime parameter for domestic socio-cultural, artistic, and, legal reforms for long centuries. Though the coup d'état in Turkey in 1980 and neo-liberalism have strong impacts on the above-mentioned domestic domains, global developments of the 1990s have arguably stronger consecutive impacts in Turkey as the women's movement signifies.

Some of the major developments of the period between 1990 and 2000 will have been schematized as follows in Figure 1, thereby some of the above-mentioned and the following developments concerning the globe and Turkey about women's movement, even feminist theory will have been summarized: the fall of the Soviet Union and imminent domination of the West, the extension of the European Union (EU), the Customs Union Agreement between the EU and Turkey, and the rising role of women in civil society. They are arguably benchmarks of the decade. Globalization has had observably tangible impacts on women's movement anywhere including in Turkey. Henceforth, the women's movement's influence and strength have been firmed and fixed since then.

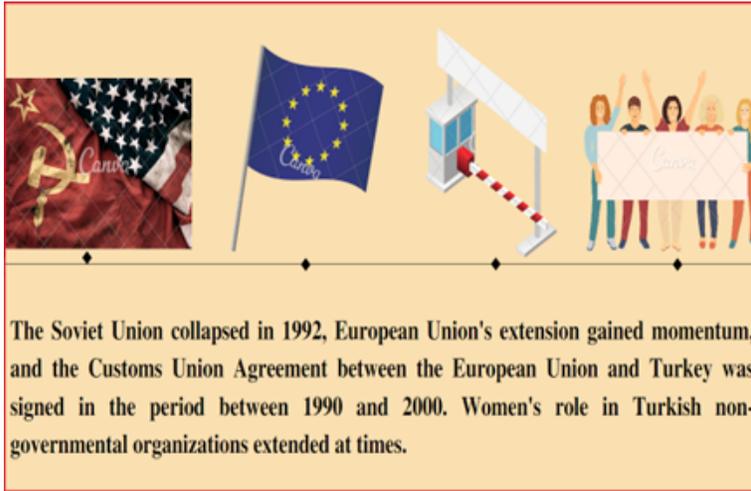


Figure 1: Global and national developments in the period between 1990 and 2000

The service sector rapidly developed in the markets articulated into global production chains in Southern countries since the 1990s has been based on a woman-oriented employment model. Transportation, the public sector supports, and sectors that support commerce, real estate, financial institutions, and FIRE (finance, insurance, real estate) have become women-intensive sectors. Thereby, investments have turned into the finance sector rather than production. New Forms of Employment Spread to The World Have Developed Dynamics Against Remaining As Housewives for Married Women, Which Was The Basis of Industrial Capitalism.” *Social welfare state feminism* was based on not working or part-time working of married women. The family started to consist of individuals all of whom work and contribute to the family’s income pool, which is a new strategy for making a living. As a result of those, masculine sovereignty over women has started to transform. The definition of transformation has still been controversial. The opportunities that global capitalism provides with unqualified women force is the demand for transnational servants, sex workers, workers in workshops in informal sectors for export, supporting the family income by micro-credit entrepreneurship (Sancar, 2022, pp. 60-61)

Southern countries (former Third World) which are the new production zones of globalizing capitalism have adopted market economy policies based on export. Thereby, new labor forms have been articulated into the global production chain. Henceforth, cheap women labor has been one of the most

important components of global capitalism. On the other hand, the micro-credit policies of the World Bank have supported in-house production which global capitalism prioritizes (Sancar, 2022, p. 60).

The study interrogates and inquiries about women's rights and liberties in socio-political, cultural, and artistic domains in Turkey from the standpoint of feminist theory. Henceforth, Turkey is the universe. Hereby, the period between 1990 and 2000 is the sampling of the study. The book chapter provides an account of Turkish women in socio-political, cultural, and artistic life in Turkey in the mentioned period from the perspectives of women studies and gender studies from a pro-feminist standpoint. The study aims to shed light on the pros and cons of the relevant developments in Turkey for women as a general appraisal of the mentioned period. Within the context, the Introduction delineates a more global perspective whereas the Literature Reviews focuses on Turkey in the above-mentioned domains. The reason why the globe has been covered along with Turkey is that the relevant developments in Turkey are not independent and distinct from the world.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Global Outlook Concerning Women

Patriarchal ideology has identified men with rationality (mind/intellect), civilization, and culture whereas women have been identified with irrationality, nature, and sentimentalism since it first started to flourish. This understanding, that monotheistic religions and the tradition of Western philosophy have inherited and vigorously systematized has acquired its perfect expression in the Cartesian "rational man" abstraction of the Enlightenment. As much as that "man" is white European and bourgeois, even before that masculine. One of the most anguished and contradictory fields of the struggle of the Western modernization and nation-building process is based on the ex-nomination of women and the feminine. Afterward, the scope of "man" and "citizen" have been extended to include women. Because newly burgeoning capitalism does not change the stereotypes concerning gender. On the contrary, capitalist industrialization, pragmatist individualism, and nation-state had led to the extension of the polar opposite distinctions of public/private, and thereby desire/mind, feminine/masculine, emotional/objective, partial/universal. Henceforth, the distinction between public and private constructs a structure of social pressure and power approved by the state institutions (Berktaş, 2015, pp. 150-153).

Associating women with substance and soil (immanence) is a frequent symbolism of nationalist discourses which struggle against the sovereignty of foreigners. Conceiving their motherland as a raped honorable pure virgin and the nationalist movement as a masculine hero to save her, and to establish the national state, thereby emancipating her (by way of legitimately marrying her) signifies the national struggle as feminine. The patriarchy of the new nation-state benefits from the woman metaphor both as a means of modernization and maintaining both national unity and stability as a symbolic element. Women are the objects of both community-centered (traditional) and state-centered (modern) policies and thereby it is feasible to interpret all social transition processes diversely to separate both sexes. Whereas the strong ideological support by modernization theories to associate women with the emotional domain of life assists not to improve the equality between sexes but to perpetuate the differentiation of the domains of women and men (Berktaş, 2015, p. 153)

On the other hand, the central role of laborers in industrial society, and the central role of merchants who destroyed the feudal system have been replaced by women. Because the sole victim of the polarization of societies where all the resources have been collected by the ruling elite which consists of white, adult, weapon-carrying men who are the owner and master of all the income. However, the turmoil that enabled the transition from a society based on conquerors of the world to a society based on ego construction has set up a society of income has been women instead of a society of men (Touraine, 2007, pp. 288-290).

As a result, the rationale of the androcratic system is that men take care of women and children as “head of the house” (the concept *androcracy* was coined by Riane Eisler and it signifies societies that are male-hegemonic, thereby anti-democratic). However, that rationale disregards massive data and it is dependent on that reality form: the basic reason why a great many numbers of women and children live under so severe poverty that they cannot meet their most urgent needs men do not provide for their wives and children with sufficient resources in both “unbroken” and “broken” families. There are a lot of data that show that (Eisler, 2015, p. 182).

As long as a woman is represented by her body (her “flesh”) and emotions and a man is represented by the control of mind/spirit and emotions, that is the dichotomy that divides human beings into and against themselves perpetuate, there is no way of getting rid of that dilemma and reservation (Berktaş, 2015, p. 162).

2.2. Turkish Context

Though support has been attained commonly within the context of political representation at the discursive level, quantitative problems/dilemmas have been perpetuated and sexist practices have continued in both private and public zones. Thereby the underlying sexist mentality has prevented the use of that right, that is prevented women from practicing the right to elect and to be elected in the world in general and in Turkey in particular where women obtained suffrage within the first half of the twentieth century. Women have seen not achieved even quantitative equality with men though they are close to them in number demographically in the use of the right to elect which does not demand something contrary to private life. However, the right to elect is dependent upon men qualitatively. If the point applies to the world in general, the situation in Turkey is more drastic (Yaraman, 2015, p.231).

2.2.1. Turkish Context and Domestic Politics

Although it did not constitute the theme except in the 1935 elections, women's issues occurred within the agenda of the press albeit to varying extents. The publishing of Turkish versions of foreign women's magazines based on patterns of consumption never involved politics in their business. Another part of media in which women and their political representation issue took place was religious women's press. Whereas the magazines published as the intellectual arena for feminism since the 1990s were not globalized with the monopolized media, thereby their target audience was small for the articles on women's political representation. As a result, women could not realize their propaganda via the press once they had adopted their problems due to their limited power. Henceforth, women in Turkey could not constitute a significant group and could not lead to at least a political transformation in favor of women in political decision-making mechanisms, however, they caused a widespread social demand, transformation, and consideration of their issues in the daily press. In each case, there does not seem to be significant synchrony between the intensity of publication about women and political participation in both daily media which addresses a large audience, and women's press, and general election periods... The fewer women's demands overlap with the agenda of the press or the public vote and political agenda which the press impacts the less likely women will be elected in political decision-making mechanisms... One of the basic conditions not to be excluded, to massify women's voice, and to transform society is that

women's interests must overlap with political interests and the public vote. That overlap does not downgrade the value of the target attained, but it enables it to be achieved. The reasons why women's magazines do not cover much about stereotypes against women, their sexuality, and political power which is the institutionalization, reproduction, and legitimacy center for gender relationships are the dichotomies concerning the political period and their dependency on the male-centered economic system. The dependency is also ideological for Islamic women's magazines. Thereby, the reason why much about women's participation in society primarily political representation was not covered in such magazines becomes comprehensible... Whereas women's magazines which are independent of men could not be massified... (Yaraman, 2015, pp.232-237).

The topic, method, and forms of politics in Turkey were differentiated and diversified. It was shown private zone could be part of politics. The private zone had been excluded from politics by governmental politics. It was emphasized as "what is private, and the private zone is political." The government was asked to become a party to solve the problems of women. However, the limits of privacy in the zone were highlighted, too. Within the agenda was male violence against women. Within the context, domination relationships in daily practices were noticed in consciousness-raising groups and the past was interrogated from that angle. Publication activities followed that process. Organization practices were differentiated. Relevant associations and foundations tried to establish a diverse language and public vote on women's issues (Çakır, 2019, pp.158-159).

Women's discourse had a common denominator in the period. The discourse of the once-thought elitist Association for Supporting and Training Women (Political) Candidates (KADER in Turkish) became the discourse of everybody within the mainstream. KADER became the side in the relationships with the government as it was considered the representative of women in political participation and quotas. Furthermore, KADER followed a policy beyond political parties and provided every woman who wanted to take part in politics with relevant training to fulfill the requirements of politics and its institutions (Çakır, 2019, p.164). The government and political parties were called to generate policies sensitive to gender equality, make amendments in the constitution and law of political parties for equal representation of women, and women deputies were called to bring women's political life program into life (KADER, 2007) (Cited by Çakır, 2019, p.164). Political training schools opened and a variety of campaigns to arouse the consciousness about the quotes were conducted (Boran, 2002; Göl, 2010) (Cited by Çakır, 2019, p.164).

2.2.2. *The Women's Movement in Turkey*

The women's movement in Turkey started to be strengthened in the 1990s, however, the movement could not meet the emancipatory policies rising *synchronously* with its developmental process. Thereby, the women's movement in Turkey could be defined as one of the *late period women's movements* that coincide with global conflicts in the post-Soviet period, movements against modernity and the West, and movements of identity and belief. When the location of the feminist movements strengthened not in the 70s but in the 1990s, they are mostly in the countries where there were authoritarian-military regime pressures. The women's movements in Turkey under the influence of feminism started to be formed in the 1990s when authoritarian/military regimes regressed and were replaced by parliamentarian regimes (again) just as in some Middle Eastern, Latin American, and South African countries. The women's movements in the world in that period encountered the new liberal market policies and the new world which was to be shaped by male sovereignty with new market-supporter and conservative tendencies about to be flourished by the sovereignty conception of the United States rather than deeply quaked forms of power criticized by emancipatory policies (comp. Sancar, 2022, pp. 71-72).

The 1990s constitute "the institutionalization period" for the feminist mainstream in Turkey. The dynamics were both within the mainstream and concerned with the general political conjuncture. Social opposition and street protests were regressing and the political agenda was not set by opponents (Bora & Günal, 2014, p.8).

On the other hand, the feminist mainstream in the country was fragmented by feminist women who have emphasized Kurdish and Islamist or Islamic identities (comp. Bora & Günal, 2014, p.8). Plus, the Turkish feminist mainstream lost its cosmopolitan character to a great extent. Women took part in such organizations in Adana, Mersin, Gaziantep, Samsun, and Eskişehir apart from Diyarbakır and Antalya at times. They collaborated and became a pressure group as in the case of the amendment of the Turkish Civil Code in the period. A new kind of feminism that could be called "project feminism" became popular in the whole world in the 1990s. Henceforth, political targets were turned into technical project targets and militantism was turned into "activism." Plus, this new type of feminism was critiqued from a variety of angles. However, it must be emphatically mentioned that the spread of middle-class, educated, and urban women's feminism and the contact with the "other" women were attained by such feminist projects (Bora & Günal, 2014, pp.8-9).

One part of the feminist mainstream defended that any relationship set with the state would give harm the mainstream and overshadow the independent politics of feminism in the years the 1990s. However, some argued that negotiation with the state was possible and it would not become bad for the acquisition of rights in the legal plane to extend public politics for women. For example, some feminists supported the amendment in 1996 for extending 2828-number women's shelters into social services as mentioned in Social Services Law, thereby allocating a share from the General Directorate for Social Services and Children's Care Institution and the preparation of the by-law of women's shelters within social services. Turkish Penal Code Lobby was set up to acquire rights in the legal plane and cooperated with the state and took parts in the circles of the state. Such groups which approved taking part in the codification of laws and which considered independent policy in that way were frequented. Efforts to set up mechanisms within the state such as the women's department and the General Directorate for Women's Status, to set up units for women in police stations and open women's shelters were made. Independent stance was prominent within those efforts (Çakır, 2019, p.161).

Women's costumes must have been considered within a liberty field for feminists. However, women's costume was considered from the angles of the regime of the state, religion, and outlook of the state. Women's costume was made a political symbol and means and women were considered as a means and were used to display either the traditional or modern face of the society in Turkey, which was polarized by the modern versus traditional dichotomy. Historical experiences concerning the domain of the state and men on women's costumes disabled the feminist mainstream in Turkey to take sides on the issue and express its opinion, even dividing the mainstream into two. The distance between women's organizations concerning the issue was kept for a long (Çakır, 2019, p.163).

On the other hand, a new field where young women "contacted" feminism newly arose in the 1990s: women's studies programs at university. Women's studies master of arts programs in the country have represented a serious opportunity and at the same time a problematic zone in Turkey where academia and politics have not been separated to a great extent as in the West. It is an opportunity because including sex in the knowledge generation as one of the basic social categories could be possible via efforts made and the struggles attained there. The departments and centers at the university could turn into a political focus in this sense. It is a problematic zone because those centers

could turn into the representative and dominators of the official ideology in the country where academia has always been of utmost political (Bora & Günal, 2014, pp.10-11).

It seems to be likely that many women's studies departments at universities do not have many reflections on feminist theory and gender research and feminist publications in Turkey. In comparison to a great many numbers of translations, there is little original pure and applied research in the country. It seems to be likely that the non-existence of a political milieu that can feed and motivate feminist research has a great share in that rarity. Anyhow, questions to pursue and researchers to pursue the questions would arise out of such a milieu (Bora & Günal, 2014, p.10).

Some interdependent dynamics determine the transformation of contemporary art in Turkey in the 1990s. The artistic process became both beneficiary and critique of the 1980 coup d'état. The art both creatively fed by the Özalist free market economy emerged by the coup in terms of creative content though it detested the free-market economy that was the product of the coup. Contemporary art in Turkey in the 1990s was influenced by the shock created by the fall of the Berlin Wall which had been the symbol of the cultural and political contradiction between the East and the West (Çolakoğlu, 90'lı Yıllarda Çağdaş Sanat: Kırılma-Gerilim-Çoğulculuk in Çağdaş Sanat Konuşmaları 3 90'lı Yıllarda Türkiye'de Çağdaş Sanat, 2008, pp. 7-8).

2.2.3. Turkish Context and Culture and Art

As for the cultural and artistic facet of the 1990s, the notion of the artist's mission which the modernization process insistently underlies, and her enlightening role within the scope of her relationship with the state and society have been abandoned. The understanding of the artist who guides society in the name of social development, progress, and collective values has been deserted. The elitist notion of modern art has been excluded, and attitudes against the leading and critical role of art have been developed in some instances. On the other hand, the majority of the artists fought against the dominant power of media and popular culture, which oriented the new social epistemology and re-construct everything rather than make progress with their ever-existing role within the process which started in the 1980s and continued in 1990s (Çolakoğlu, 2008, pp. 9-10).

Artists of the 1990s, unlike modern artists, do not exclude the element of imitation and display what is "now", "here," and "within the geography," they record them and convert them into images. Henceforth, they do not preserve

the “universality” that previous generations consider a holy mission, they act as if they are. The artists do not evaluate the given epistemologies which Lyotard calls “meta-narratives,” they almost disregard narratives such as science-knowledge, history, enlightenment, and emancipation, and they conceive that factuality has diverse codes in life. According to them, attitudes, values, disciplines, societies, and meaning itself have seemingly fragmented or have been fragmenting the world. Reality cannot be fixed and cannot be indexed to the hierarchy of grand narratives. Thereby, artists intervene in the factuality in a narrower sense, and they re-construct it knowing that reality can never and never be directly represented... If language utilized in the relations including works of art has become vague, the information we obtain via language will have no definition. Artist’s ability to sign the factuality becomes fluctuating and it cannot be reliable when the relationship of correspondence between signifier-signified-correspondent is deconstructed when the existence of an open correspondent of the image is doubtful. De-construction, especially affinity to the concept of *différance* by Derrida is closely related to the consequences of the encounters of art object/language/philosophy over the last ten years (Çolakoğlu, 90’lı Yıllarda Çağdaş Sanat: Kırılma-Gerilim-Çoğulculuk in Çağdaş Sanat Konuşmaları 3 90’lı Yıllarda Türkiye’de Çağdaş Sanat, 2008, pp. 12-13).

3. Methodology, Epistemological and Methodological Discussion

3.1. *Scientific Paradigms*

The (scientific) paradigm called experimental, realistic, and positivistic claims that the world we study could be perceived as independent of us, and that it is itself an independently existing entity (Gibbs, 2002, p.4) (Cited by Kümbetoğlu, 2019, p.22). The diverse intellectual mainstreams which are called interpretivism, idealist, and phenomenological approach have a thoroughly different standpoint concerning the issue: “the world outside us has been represented solely symbolically. The truth itself consists of the symbols human beings perceive, the symbols that represent reality or we delineate and change the world we live in with meanings (Gibbs, 2002, p.6) (Cited by Kümbetoğlu, 2019, p.22). The research methods, the function of relevant research, and the basic presuppositions concerning the role of the researcher are different (comp. Kümbetoğlu, 2019, p.22). It could be argued that feminist research is a beneficiary of both positivistic paradigm and interpretivism because the feminist theory itself consists of diverse even conflicting theoretical stances.

3.2. *Feminist Paradigm*

As long as women do not learn their history and do not teach it to new generations, they will be trapped in the old patterns of slavery and they will lose freedoms gained by hardship. The most significant part of that history is the feminist theory which has been developed over long centuries. As long as women do not acquire feminist theory, they will remain ignorant (Donovan, 2021, p. 17).

A methodology stands for a particular disciplinary instance in which relevant theory sheds light on research procedures. Feminist scholars argue that traditional theoretical frameworks do not facilitate how women's participation in the social milieu and men's gendered conduct in society. Thereby, feminist accounts of traditional theories and feminist methodologies were born. However, it is also questionable whether they could explain fully gender and women's roles. An epistemology is a theory of knowledge answering questions such as who can know and under what stages and conditions beliefs are converted into and justified as knowledge. The feminist account argues that whether deliberately or not such epistemologies ex-nominate women as *knowers* or *agents of knowledge*. Feminist scholars further argue that the voice of science is masculine and assumed by and for men. Alternatively, there are feminist epistemologies. In short, however, feminist research would not be crowned just by examining epistemologies, methodologies, and research methods as such. Instead, considering a lot of phenomena concerning women's practices from women's perspective and facilitate answering questions such as why men find childcare and housework unpleasurable, why men's sexuality is so power-driven, and why death is taken so seriously, unlike birth which is counted natural. Thereby, women supply new empirical and theoretical data for social science. Henceforth, men's perspective could only partial and even perverse understanding of the bigger picture called society. Feminist research also locates women not only in social experiences but in political struggles as well. If once women's perspective on women's experiences is prioritized, this could lead to researching women. Thereby, women become a new purpose for social science. Third, a new approach in social inquiry could be locating the researcher in the same delicate place as the subject matter positions overtly. Heretofore, the researcher becomes factual and historical with tangible desires and matters instead of an inaudible anonymous voice. Furthermore, the following inferences are undesirable and false: a kind of relativism based on women's experiences rather than men's experiences as the empirical and theoretical framework and grounding and confining feminist research and scholarship to women only. It is

a feminist dilemma to argue women's experiences are preferable to providing a more reliable empirical base. Another falsity is the critical position of the inquirer in the subject matter which makes the men's insights, and contributions to feminist academia doubtful. However, men can also be qualified "feminists" as much as women deserve the title (Harding, 2004, pp.456-464). Furthermore, women and men are of equal status when the locus of women's problems has been interpreted within the totality of problems and changes in any culture. If this standpoint has been accepted, there is no reason why any research on women conducted by men is better or worse than research on women conducted by women. What makes the research distinct is the quality of its presuppositions and the ways to prove them rather than the personality of the researcher (Touraine, 2007, p. 292). On the other hand, according to Maynard, though feminist research primarily starts and focuses on women's issues most women are not feminists and do not share the standpoint and stance of feminism about the locus, function, and role of women in society (Maynard, 2004, p. 467).

Feminist research involves the fulfillment of two pre-requisites: first feminist research questions must have a feminist position and must be politically and ethically properly asked. On the other hand, as a second methodological stance, the power hierarch between the researcher and researched must be turned into a non-exploitative rapport the ultimate consequence of which is obtaining high-quality unbiased data based on mutual trust. Furthermore, the political nature of feminist research must have the potential to make changes or modifications in women's lives (Maynard, 2004, pp. 465-467). The authors of the book chapter have tried to maintain a pro-feminist stance to explore the relevant period in Turkey to give a gender-conscious critical account of the socio-cultural, legal, and artistic domains with pro-feminist pre-suppositions however hard it is in the patriarchal social structure of Turkish society.

In recent times, feminist debates involve postmodern epistemological issues though feminist research provides researchers with a single research model for its recurrent themes. Qualitative versus quantitative feminist research has been a pretext for polarization with the increasing role of quantification in feminist empiricism. The utility of reflexivity and critique of subject versus object dichotomy has been influential in the interrogation of objectivity of knowledge in a post-modern sense in feminist inquiry. The role of language in the re-production of gender-based inequality, fragmentation of womanhood, multiple identities of women, and the impossibility of materiality of women's experiences have been postmodern feminist concerns (Maynard, 2004, pp. 467-471).

According to Durakbaşa (2008, p. 16), academic studies in Turkey concerning women are hesitant to interrogate the basic concepts of disciplines, generate a sphere of feminist criticism in general, and produce feminist policies. As long as that quantitative increase in those studies concerning women have no corresponding qualitative parallels, and does not generate good-quality alternatives to existing male-hegemonic structures of science and knowledge, those are doomed to be marginalized as “women’s studies,” and left out.

Furthermore, feminists’ tendency to underestimate the potentiality of numerical inquiry does not facilitate delineating all women’s experiences. The numerical potentiality of such inquiries as violence against women, less paid works compared with those of men, feminization of poverty must be rethought for empirical studies and remaining orthodoxy in the field must be questioned more.

In a general sense, men and women are two fundamental human types. The way the relationship between women and men is structured has been structured is a basic model for human relations. Consequently, the behavioral pattern of dominator-dominated is internalized by a child raised in a traditional male-hegemonic family (Eisler, 2015, p. 174). Men’s spirit and body may tend to function as the law of thermodynamics compared with women’s cycles which overlap with nature and arguably the universe.

3.3. Bakhtinian Dialogic Perspective of the Book Chapter

Bakhtinian sense of text does not reduce different voices into a monolithic one, on the contrary, it stresses and thereby prioritizes multiple voices in “dialogic” relation with each other to varying extents of tension and struggle relating to, being shaped by, and competing with each other in a particular socio-historical context called “heteroglossia.” Henceforth, social heterogeneity in multivocal female voices is maintained, thereby monologic, authoritarian word of patriarchy would not make the end (Eigler, 1995, pp. 191-194).

Within the above-mentioned context, Figure 2 summarizes the dialogic dialogue between the researchers (of this book chapter) and its methodological and practical outputs within the research.

Figure 3 available towards the end of the third subtitle (Methodology, Epistemological and Methodological Discussion) shows the dialogical relationship between the researchers. It is ongoing and never-ending plus it has no resolution. The cyclical nature of the mentioned dialogic dialogue exists in the universe of science in an unending spatial and temporal sequence where there

are never disappearing utterances of a search for answers though none of which is exactly to-the-point enough to reach a resolution and the science universe is non-finite. Though the universe has no center, it has an energy resource, which is feminist theory itself.

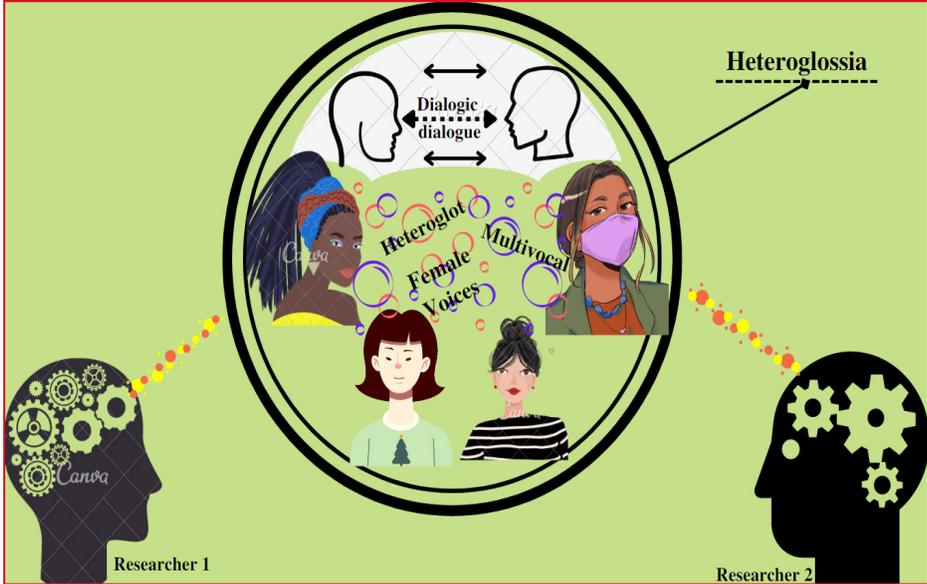


Figure 2: Bakhtinian dialogic dialogue between the researchers and its consequences

3.4. Document Analysis

Documents which are called secondary data resources both in the stage of preliminary research and during the research process supply other data resources apart from the information which could be provided directly by people in qualitative research (Kümbetoğlu, 2019, p. 145). Henceforth, this book chapter utilizes the data excerpted from the relevant literature as cited in the Literature Review. Some of such references, mainly academic (and other) books were briefly introduced in the Introduction above.

3.5. Research Questions

Research Questions

1. What are the scholarly features unique to feminist research, epistemology, and feminist theory?

2. What are the developments in women's rights and liberties in socio-political, cultural, and artistic domains in Turkey between 1990 and 2000
3. What are the consequences of the above-mentioned developments for women in particular and Turkish society in general in the period?
4. How can the above-mentioned period in Turkey be interpreted in the light of feminist theory?

3.5. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Book Chapter

This book chapter tries to be audible with its value-laden approach: It tries to give voice to women in Turkey through the endeavor of two pro-feminist researchers. The approach is bound by the emphasis by Harding on the locus of the researcher(s) in the subject matter of the research as cited above. The two researchers overtly advocate the full recognition and practice of women's rights and liberties on legal and practical planes. The practical domain is also influenced by the patriarchal nature of Turkish society. However, as the old saying goes *Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in Ellis*. Women's critical role in politics has hitherto been overshadowed by shallow town politics which arguably matter for Turkish men rather than Turkish women. One of the underlying reasons why the two researchers do not qualify themselves as feminists but instead prefer feminists *is* their respect for the radical feminist premise that women's spirit, bodies, and experiences could only be conceived through the perception of women.

One of the weaknesses of the book chapter might be its (pro-) feminist value-laden preconceptions. Thereby, feminist theory is the gospel for the study. Henceforth, women's discourse has been identified with feminist mainstream in general and feminist theory in particular to reveal the dynamics of women's discourse in Turkey. However, other political discourses describe/explain the role of women in political life in general and particularly in Turkey. On the other hand, such a (pro-)feminist standpoint is a choice by the authors. It could further be argued that the choice of the authors is a strength rather than a weakness. The critical role of patriarchy has been the culprit of gender-based inequality in Turkey for long centuries.

The authors agree upon the use of "Turkish" as synonymous with Turkey. As Turkey is not based on the privilege of any ethnic group and Turkish citizenship is identical with Turkishness by her Constitution, this use is compatible with Turkish law. However, there are some ethnic claims of some women groups

within the feminist mainstream in Turkey in the 1990s. The stand of the authors may be considered a weakness for such women groups within the feminist mainstream in Turkey and abroad.

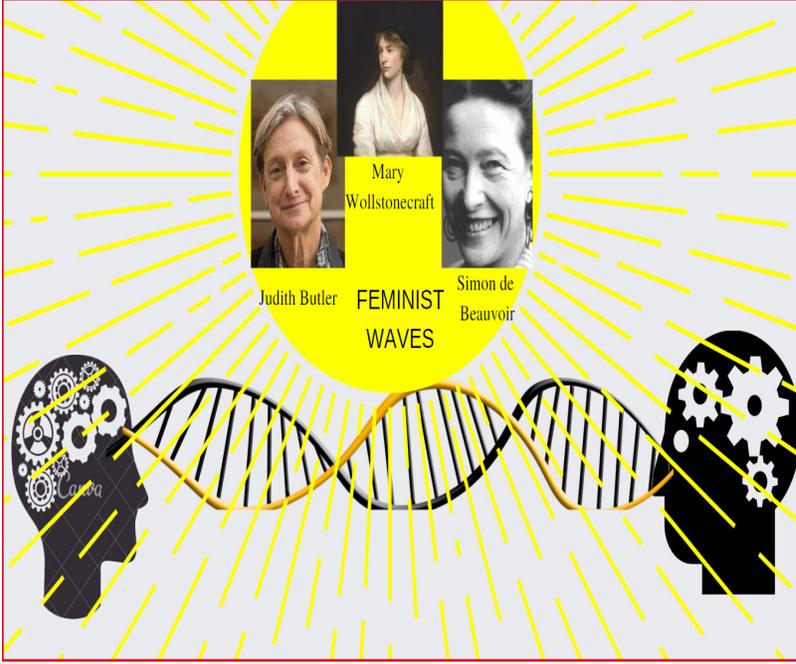


Figure 3: The Dialogical Method Used by the Researchers in the Light of Feminist Theory (Partly Inspired by Sözen & Eroğlu, 2021, p.101)

References for the Pictures in the Figure

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4. Discussion

The period between the 1900s and 2000s in Turkey is when Turkey was more integrated into global capitalism. The global market economy has more strongly been one of the major dynamics of international affairs since the end of the Soviet Union and its communist allies. According to Sözen who cites Kumar (1996), society consists of social, political, economic, and cultural spheres (Sözen, Significance of Popular Culture in English Language Teaching

Coursebooks, 2007, p. 11). As Turkey arguably has turned into the dynamics of post-modernism since the coup d'état in 1980 and Özalizm, neo-liberal ideology was adapted to Turkey by Turgut Özal, eighth President of the Republic of Turkey. Henceforth Kumar's post-modern arbitrarily intertwined integration of political, social, economic, and cultural sectors has been viable since then. Thereby, no sphere of Turkish society can be isolated and be departed from each other. Thus, neo-liberal economic policies and integration into global markets have influenced Turkey socio-politically and culturally, too. That constituted the chief dynamics for the transformation in culture and art in Turkey between the 1990s and 2000s. furthermore, the women's movement in Turkey has also tended to integrate into the global women's movement. Henceforth, the global dynamics of feminist theory and women's movement have been almost as important as the regional and local dynamics in Turkey to an extent since the above-mentioned period. On the other hand, globalization, global capitalism, and post-modernity have pros and cons. The rising role of women in the global economy, awareness of the own worth, function, and inevitability of women's being, women's strengthening role of women in the family, women's rising star in global and domestic politics, rising academic range of feminists have positive consequences around the globe and in Turkey in the above-mentioned period. Özalist neo-liberal integration into the global economy was crowned by the Customs Union Agreement at times.

It could be argued that feminist theory delineates a woman model who is fully independent educationally, professionally, and economically. How close any women are to that model in Turkey, the higher standards of living anyone in Turkish society will have. Feminist theory, especially radical feminism aims at transforming society into a fully egalitarian form equalizing women and men in every domain of life. It could be argued that such an idea is not utopian. Because inequality between women and men is the by-product of a so-called man-made society with critical exceptions throughout human history. It is unavailable in our genes and nature. Furthermore, women are born more advantaged than men by nature. Women are born with xx chromosomes whereas men are born with x Y chromosomes, which makes women stronger and men weaker by nature (Sözen, Yüksek Kültür ve Popüler Kültürde Kadın Söyleminin Türkçede Woolf ve Weldon Çevirileri Üzerinden İncelenmesi, 2014, pp. 18-19). The proof is that women and men were given the same life conditions with equal hardship women would endure more strongly and would live longer in total duration than men do. Global life expectancy in any statistical reference verifies that point. Henceforth,

women are gifted by nature and human nature. Consequently, albeit it is very, very difficult, the aim of radical feminism is the truth that nature provides us with. However, man-made society has made the intricate balance of the universe upside-down with its global androcratic totalitarianism. Feminist feminism and feminist activism are going to resist global androcracy for all long. On the other hand, making the living for the family is not under the monopoly of husbands in almost egalitarian societies or the partnership society designed by Riane Eisler (Eisler, 2015). Thereby, the citation from her at end of the Literature Review is confined to the Third World. The position of Turkey between the 1990s and 2000s is not within that league as Turkey was a prospective member country of the European Union at times.

It could be argued that no one can deny the critical role women play in world politics. It could further be argued that that role has flourished rapidly in recent decades. A typical example is from the 1990-2000 period in Turkey when the first and only woman prime minister of Turkey, Prof. Dr. Tansu Çiller, and the first woman Interior Minister, Mrs. Meral Akşener, were in power. The transformation of global society into a more egalitarian form is a development for humanity. The aspect of their role in domestic politics in Turkey is beyond the scope of the book chapter.

Taking into Berktaý's negative picture concerning the world and Touraine's picture concerning the world but especially France in the Literature Review into consideration, it could be argued that both are right but in different aspects and to differing extents. There are positive developments in the status of women especially in the West in terms of equality of women and men. However, women in regions of the world such as the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) suffer from patriarchy and feudal social ties more. The mentioned region has not evolved into a contemporary democratic secular free market society with totalitarian or authoritarian regimes with a few exceptions. The anti-democratic regimes of the region have harsh legal, socio-cultural, educational, and political restrictions and pressures on women. The region with its opposition to the Western way of life, and thereby male hegemony on women have few or no improvements for women's status and problems.

Confining womanhood into family and motherhood contradicts the feminist theory. On the other hand, accepting feminist theory as the gospel is only a choice for a certain group of scholars, activists, and supporting people. According to Irigaray, the question "How old are you?" is a question that must never be asked to a woman, as it can bother her. The question implies that

any woman is loveable and desirable only if she is young and at the age of motherhood (Irigaray, 2006, p. 119). On the other hand, one of the pillars of the most significant socio-political and cultural progress is arguably social stability, political and cultural harmony, the absence of socio-political confrontation, and polarization. However, the period between 1990 and 2000 is not compatible with the above-mentioned progressive character. Polarization between some socio-political and cultural sectors resulted in a kind of *post-modern* coup d'état on 28th February 1997.

Moreover, it could be argued that any woman cannot and must not endure any period of life when she does not have economic independence in Turkey. Furthermore, as it could be inferred from the citation of Çalıkoğlu's points in the Literature Review, media and popularity in Turkey are the elements contemporary artists of the period almost always critiqued, which can be supported by feminist theory in that they re-produce traditional patriarchal women versus men stereotypes though to varying extents and in diverse scopes.

5. Results and Conclusion

Humanity made strides in the period between 1990 and 2000 though not enough, however, the essence of life and existence is ongoing progress. Life consists of positive and negative cycles like those of the universe and women. The essence of being is to-fold just like women and men or Ying and Yung. Henceforth, the period between 1990 and 2000 has no exception.

Feminist theory and feminist methodology have diversified but strengthened in academic scope and quantity for a while. Although Turkish women still suffered from a patriarchal social structure, Turkey's integration into the global market economy and relevant post-modern conditions experienced in Turkey in socio-political and cultural domains made Turkish women more prone to global conjuncture and the tendency of Turkish women to establish global ties with international women's movement became noticeable. A typical example may be the rising role of civil society and the critically significant role and function of Turkish women in civil society in Turkey. As the acquisition of women's rights and liberties on a scale that equalizes women with men is a continuum, women both around the globe and in Turkey made strides in the period between 1990 and 2000.

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CHAPTER III

WHAT WILL THE FUTURE BRING: WOMEN LABOR MARKET IN TURKEY AFTER 1980S

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1. Introduction

Increasing women labor force participation is a factor that directly encourages economic growth. The growth of the labor force is important in increasing productivity. The participation of women increases the existing talent pool and increases productivity by increasing the innovation.

In the last two centuries, the industrialization and automation brought an increase in productivity with a “jobless growth” in the labor markets. Education and immigration were generally an important element of labor mobility after the 1980s. However economic policies did not sufficiently encourage the development of wage labor targeted by education and immigration.

Housework is another workplace that is becoming popular. However, there appears to be a makeshift structure within the growing service sector, an area that is heavily feminized. In political life, there is an expanding area for women in the context of rights and freedoms. However, in terms of these rights and freedoms, it can be said that the private and public sectors lag the political life. It is seen that the representation of women in local administrations is more organized and regular in terms of rights and opportunities compared to working life.

In the 1980s and after, different types of education and examples are applied in all areas of life. The learning ecosystem is changing. It is no longer an ecosystem consisting of classical stereotypical classroom teachers and students. Life-long learning and project-based studies are examples.

The most important development brought about by globalization in the 2000s and after is the rapid spread of economic crises, as well as the rapid increase of political instability and increasing labor mobility. The aim of this study is to examine the projections of this change and transformation in the working life for women in Turkey after 1980s.

2. The Nature and Transformation of Women Employment

The industrial revolution, which took place about 200 years ago, led to a decrease in the weight of the agricultural sector in the economy and employment. Over time, the most important effect of industrialization, high productivity and technological development has been the formation of the unemployed growth process. This transformation, the degree of being affected by the commercial, financial, military, and cultural dimensions of the industrializing countries has been decisive. Urbanization and unemployment problems come to the fore in terms of gender-based transformation of employment, and new ecosystems called green economy are emerging. In this context, the level of marketization has increased with the participation of more women in the labor force for unpaid jobs such as housework and childcare.

The 1980s can be regarded as the beginning years of the transition to a free-market economy and neoliberal policies. It can be said that while women labor force participation increased all over the world during this period and afterwards, the income divergence between countries also increased. For this reason, policies towards women started to become popular with the contributions of the United Nations under the leadership of the IMF and the World Bank.

It is seen that the restructured society and environment is built on five pillars, these are the health system, government, industry, public, environment and energy (Elavaran & Pugazhendhi, 2020). Improved health infrastructure large-scale facilities and the increase in the prevalence of telehealth services are prominent features of new type of health systems. Governments in decision-making processes and public administration and try to meet the needs of health system. For industry, it is seen that a system has been formed to produce products that the economy and health system will need.

In today's advanced capitalist societies, the distribution of wealth as well as the division of labor has a complex structure. In this sense, the relationship between labor and value also changes. On the one hand, while questioning the employment creation capacity of the firm; on the other hand, the distinction between paid and unpaid work or productive and unproductive labor is discussed (Becerem, Fırat & İzgi, 2021:307).

Based on the labor force data that changed after 2014 in Turkey, women employment rates are seen for those aged 15+ and (15-24) (Figure 1).

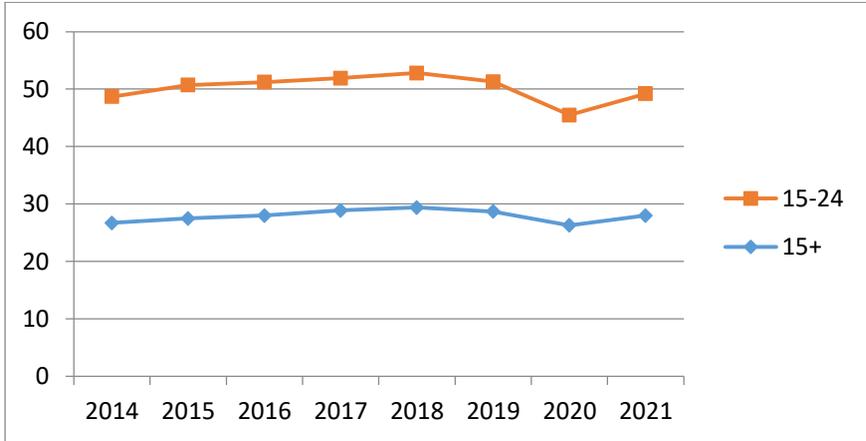


Figure 1: Turkey Women Employment 15+ and (15-24) (www.tuik.gov.tr)

2.1 Part-time Work

In the second half of the 20th century, while the actual weekly working hours in full-time jobs decreased in many countries, the number and rate of part-time jobs increased. The EU28 average, which was 23.3% in 1990, increased to 25.4% in 2018 for women (Table 1).

Table 1: The ratio of part-time employees to total employees

Country	Women		Men	
	1990	2020	1990	2020
Belgium	28,8	27,2	4,4	6,6
France	22,5	19,7	4,5	7,1
Denmark	29,7	23,6	10,2	15,2
Germany	29,8	36,3	2,3	9,5
Italy	18,4	31,4	4	8,04
Holland	52,5	56,8	13,4	19,3
Turkey	16,8	18,1	5,1	8,3
EU28	23,3	24	5,9	7,4

Source: OECD^a

In OECD countries, about a quarter of women work in part-time jobs, and there are significant differences between countries. For example, while 58% of women work in part-time jobs in the Netherlands, this rate is around 19% in France. Part-time work has increased for both men and women over the past 30 years. In addition, it is seen that part-time work is higher in women at later ages.

Part-time work has significant impact on increasing women's participation in the workforce. In a family where the husband has a full-time job, the woman's obligation to devote significant time to housework and children, and to manage the house, has not disappeared. In families where both husband and wife work full-time jobs, managing the home and children is a difficult task, so women working in full-time jobs tend to marry late and have fewer children. In many countries, women quit their job after they get married or have children. In this respect, how the labor market is organized has an important role. Although unpaid work is not counted as work today, every activity that creates added value should be evaluated within this scope (Tatliyer, 2020: 70). For this reason, housewifery is an important job in terms of providing a significant added value. The reasons lead to longer men working time in paid employment and less women's working time (OECDb).

2.2 1980s

The 1980s were years of jobless growth. At the end of 1988, the increase in inflation was 75% with an increasing unemployment (Ecevit 2020,114). When the year 1983 is accepted as 100, the worker wages have risen 19 times and the wages of civil servants increased by 23 times in 1980-88 period. Prices were increased 32 times in the same period. This situation has made it compulsory for employees to work more. In 1985, 69% of women working in the non-agricultural sector were unemployed. For these and similar reasons, the trend towards the informal sector has increased.

The relations of sovereignty have very rigid structures in a typical household. Changes observed in the occupations and status of women can only occur within this framework. The woman identifies her social status with the social status of her family. Accordingly, the increase or decrease in the distress of each of the family members gives the impression that the woman is in social mobility. Women direct their efforts to increase the status of the family, especially men and members. This deception causes women to participate in production at low status and causes them not to receive the value and rights of their labor adequately (Özbay 2020:138).

It is seen that economic policies after 1980 did not encourage education and immigration towards the development of wage labor. On the other hand, trade, especially trade and tourism for foreign markets has paved the way. The fact that trade took precedence over industry and public services increased the value of money. Thus, money has been the most important element for social mobility in the last period. The person who earns money was seen as a dominant and respected person in society and still is. Despite the formation of a student group studying and working more than before, it was observed that the rate of those who completed high school was low in this period. Since the proportion of educated women lags behind men, it is generally uneducated older men who are the group in which educated young women compete in the labor market. However, it has been witnessed that when the value of wage labor is greatly devalued, educated men enter the business life and leave their previously difficult positions to educated women (Dedeoğlu, 2019:175). For instance, while the proportion of well-trained male instructors in universities has decreased, the proportion of women professors has started to increase. This situation can be interpreted as women's access to higher positions whose prestige is decreasing more widely.

The rush to earn money, which became widespread after 1980, caused men to get rid of most of their family responsibilities and women to take more responsibility in these areas. For example, it became common after the 80s that women were responsible for daily shopping instead of men. In addition, a diversity and significant changes were observed in the reproduction activities carried out in houses. The development of technologies related to household goods is an important factor in this.

In macroeconomic terms, labor demand is one of the important determinants of women's employment. The development of women's employment in a way that closes the gender gap takes place during periods of strong growth. At least this has been the case until today. The economic crises that started after the financial liberalization period in the 1990s caused him to have fun on women and development studies. With the establishment of the Gender and Macroeconomics International Working Group (GEM-IWG), which was founded by a group of feminist economists in the early 2000s, macroeconomic issues began to enter the agenda of gender and economy more.

Today, however, it is seen that governments are more sensitive to expanding the supply of women's labor force, as well as to work-life balance. Due to the export-led growth after 1980, it can be said that the feminization

of the workforce was the most distinctive feature of the period. Examples of this are Asian tigers, including South Korea. In countries such as the Middle East and the North African region, a male-women employment gap emerges. For this reason, despite the export-led growth policies in Turkey in the post-1980 period, the demand for women who could not create sufficient women employment compared to the population remained weak in attracting women from the secondary workforce position to the labor market (İlkkaracan, 2012).

2.3 2000s and After

The 2000s were the years when the effects of globalization on women's employment could be seen. With the increase in accessibility with the technological development and the development of import and export, it has been seen that business opportunities have increased. Access to job opportunities more quickly and comfortably has increased women's employment. With globalization, society's perspective on women has changed. Today women can also work, and their self-confidence has increased.

It is known that there is a relationship between globalization and poverty and that globalization has effects on poverty. With the spread of globalization and reaching all countries of the world, the world has become a single market. Every country and each person began to resemble each other. However, in terms of poverty, the poor country has become poorer, and the rich country has become richer.

In the study of rice and Akın (2014), it has been seen that domestic women and child labor are used in a significant part (70.7%) of vegetable businesses whose production scale is larger than domestic consumption scale in Diyarbakır. It is seen that 70% of these enterprises do not pay wages to domestic women and children (Rice, Akın, Gokova, 2014). The chart below compares the earnings of managers, professional professionals, and education professionals by gender. Accordingly, while male and women earnings differences are less in the managerial group, it is seen that these earnings differences are higher for professionals and education professionals (Figure 2). When the years 2010 and 2014 are compared, it is seen that earnings have increased for each gender.

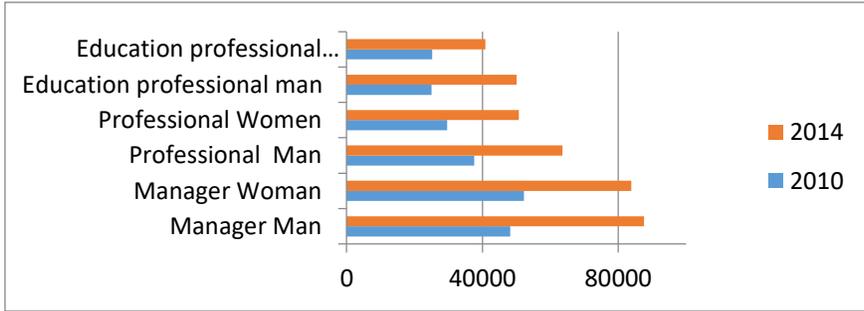


Figure 2: Men and women earnings differences Source:TÜİK,2022.

3. Climate Change and Women

In countries where the proportion of women working in rural areas is high, women are more affected by climate change. For example, women have to spend more time on domestic responsibilities, food supply and safety, access to clean water, heating. Therefore, they are more sensitive to climate change. In the countryside, they are the managers of the water and how,

They can decide where to get it, how much and how to use it. Rural women, who are heavily involved in agricultural production in Turkey, are secondary in terms of their roles and status in agricultural production. Since women have more responsibility in labor-intensive jobs and subsistence economies, men take control of market-oriented production and direct all decision mechanisms themselves.

Climate change is effective in every process from the environment we live into the food we consume, from the technology we use to our health, from agricultural production to development. It is especially important for family farming, which tries to ensure the sustainability of agriculture, which is dependent on natural conditions. Because the risk perception and knowledge of the farmer varies from region to region, it is effective in supporting policies related to climate change and determining their own struggle methods. In rural areas, women are more affected due to the severe conditions brought about by their domestic and out-of-home roles. (Ar and Gülçubuk, 2014).

Gender is not addressed in most of the negotiations on climate change. However, at the meeting of the parties convened in Marrakech, with the decision numbered 36/CP.7 on increasing the participation of women in the organs established under the Convention and the protocol, the parties agreed on climate change.

He called on him to take measures to ensure his participation at all levels of decision-making. The impact of climate change on women has been determined by the UN Commission on the Status of Women. It was discussed with the interactive expert panel on “Gender Perspective in Climate Changes”.

To meet our nutritional needs and for our future generations, water use, good agricultural practices, etc. Publication studies on the subjects should be carried out in a gender-balanced and regular manner, not in the form of “transferring mechanical information”, but by motivating the individual in participatory, democratic conditions. Thus, an environment for raising awareness about sustainable agriculture can be created. In addition, it should be tried to create an ecosystem where women can organize, and their participation in the preparation and implementation of projects should be ensured.

4. Work in Digital Platforms

Today, depending on the increase in the use of the internet around the world, online jobs have also entered working life. While the rate of social media users all over the world is 53.6% compared to the world population, 70.8% of the population in Turkey actively uses social media (recrodigital.com/dijital-2021).

Work in digital workforce platforms consists of both web-based and digital work platforms and local-based work platforms through software applications of work. Business community work system emerged in the early 2000s with the more widespread of the internet and the need for human input in the tasks required for the smooth functioning of web-based Industries employees. If they have a reliable internet connection, they can work from anywhere in the world. The platforms are business community work platforms that provide large and flexible workforce access for businesses to complete small, often repetitive office jobs. using two questionnaires, they analyzed the working conditions in seven different criteria, these criteria were payment rates, social security, work intensity, work availability, rejection. and free transaction coverage implements employee communication with customers platform management and business type highlights the benefits and disadvantages of micro-task work.

5. Discussion

The period after the industrial revolution has been a period of great transformation in terms of labor market. In this period, which has lasted until today, the structure of labor market shifting from the agricultural sector to the services sector for many

countries, while many low/medium level jobs have been lost, many low/medium level “new jobs” have emerged. It can be said that the jobless growth, which has emerged because of the disappearance of many jobs in the last two centuries due to mechanization and automation, and the continuous transformation of the employment composition, is no longer a problem. Because the digital revolution offers opportunities to anyone who wants to do business online and has a certain expertise. The effects of this technological transformation on women’s employment indicate that the importance of education and qualifications will increase, and the competition in the training race among employees will increase even more. Time will tell whether the ecological threshold is an important indicator in this regard. Because economies such as China and India, which started with cheap labor, show very high economic growth rates, although they are well below the ecological threshold.

Today with high inflation rates, consumption is restricted, and this will prevent robotization. On the other hand, if the ecological threshold or the effects of climate change will be felt more, time will show how these effects will be in terms of economic growth. Between 1950 and 2000, while the world population increased from 2.5 billion to more than 6 billion, oil consumption increased from 3.8 billion barrels to 27.6 billion barrels per year. Wheat production increased from 143 million metric tons to 584 metric tons per year (Tatlıyer,2020:225).

While these developments create a concern in terms of world population and food supply, on the other hand, the importance of producing quality agricultural products has increased. Increasing food and energy prices on the one hand and speculative financial markets on the other indicate that the level of localization of countries and regions will increase. The slowing economic growth around the world will also have an impact on labor markets and specifically on women’s employment. It will gain importance in this process to be able to use the digital economy and localization foot well and turn it into an advantage.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CHANGING NOTION OF MODERNITY FROM THE OTTOMAN PERIOD REPUBLICAN ERA AND TWO DIVERSE WOMEN TYPOLOGIES

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1. Introduction

1.1. *The Basic Intellectual Contexts of Ottoman Modernization*

It is necessary to interrogate the common notion that the Westernization process has resulted in a dichotomy in society and a conflict between the Westernized elites and the sectors of society that re-produce the tradition. It has been seen exactly that the understanding the snobs or intellectuals who frequently occur in the Ottoman-Turkish novels despise the traditional values rooted in the heritage of the past has no equivalents in practical life. Though the sector that considers Westernization as denying the Oriental past and who produce the purest form of orientalism consists of intellectuals, there is another sector of society that defended that the material side of Western Civilization must be the basis, and the spiritual path of the society must be maintained. Islamists claim that the civilizational superiority of the West has been based on the underlying Islamic civilization and the values created by the Islamic civilization. Plus, returning to Islamic values and Islamic civilization would eliminate the need to imitate the West. It could be put forward that the intellectual turmoil available in the Ottoman society amidst the superiority of the West and the way they were caricatured in the Ottoman novel shows the second mainstream

was in the foreground. The basic arguments of that mainstream have been that Westernization itself was a technical and material matter, and while transforming into Western Civilization, on the other hand, we could maintain our spiritual Oriental values. Here there's a distinction between material and spiritual values, and this tendency has had its projections in Ziya Gökalp's thoughts albeit changing its form. The transformation in the material versus spiritual dichotomy has been viable throughout the Republican era in shaping the social policy of the Republican Administration. It can go further into Mahmud II and Reshid Pasha who delineated the Re-Organization reform. Mahmud II abolished the Janissaries and established a new Army and called it the Holy Warriors of Muhammad, thereby he has a reference to Islam. That is an indicator that he takes spiritual matters into account. The Western-minded schools where Western techniques and science were able to be perceived as striking. The courses and curricula available in those schools reflected the synthesis of the second mainstream very well. A good list of course books on engineering and engineering vehicles dated 1797 which was available in the library of the oldest School of Engineering of the Army arouses interest. A variety of the books available in the list belonged to the classical science of Islam. The second variety of the books belonged to the category that was European-centered either original or translated (İhsanoğlu, 1991, p. 110). The combination of the coursebooks available in the Prime School of Medicine curricula and the relevant courses there dated 1892 overlapped the same rationale according to the document dated 1826 that belonged to the branch School of Medicine. The syllabus of the first grade which is the preparatory stage consisted of courses such as Arabic Sciences, Creeds in Islamic Studies, and besides French, physics, and chemistry, which was the new domain. In the second grade in addition to Islamic Studies and Arabic, French, anatomy, and zoology courses were conducted. It is being seen that the third and fourth grades consisted of vocational courses (İhsanoğlu, 1991, pp. 114-5). The concern of maintaining the spiritual values while absorbing the material values was observable in the choice of close colleagues of Reshid pasha who had been the architect of the Reorganization. Reshid Pasha had asked the Sheik ul Islam to assign an assistant to help him with the reforms to conduct in his early Prime Membership. Ahmad Cevded Pasha, who was from Islamic theologians, later became in an influential position and was assigned as the assistant (Mardin, Türk Modernleşmesi, 1997, p. 134).

In Namik Kemal, who was one of the prominent figures of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization, the influences of the same dichotomy could be traced.

However profound was Namik Kemal influenced by Western thought, and however strong he affirmed Western civilization, he was a thinker who also believed it was requisite to maintain Islamic values (viz. Berkes, 2003, pp. 287-95). Mizanci Murad was one of the leaders Union and Progress Party and was more favorable than Ahmad Riza who was the real founder and the positivist was pan-Islamist (Ramsaur, 1982, p. 54). Union and Progress Party's intellectual synthesis also reflected the combination of spiritual and material values. One of the leaders of the organization was Ahmad Riza who was known as an inflexible positivist, whereas the other was Mizanci Murad with Islamist tendencies. The status quo reflected the dichotomous situation.

Although there are some original aspects of the combination of those spiritual and material values in the Ottoman-Turkish modernization, it must not be thought that it was the only viable situation for the mentioned geography. Chatterjee puts forward that nationalism in colonial societies (the same applies to modernity) first establishes its domain of sovereignty before starting a struggle against the imperial power. This becomes possible by dividing social institutions into the spiritual and material domains. The material facade is the aspect of the external: it is the domain of state affairs, science, and technology, whereas the West has proved its superior power in the field. And, in that field what the West maintained must be revived. On the other hand, the spiritual field is the one that carries the signs of the essence of the cultural identity (Chatterjee, 2002, p.22).

It is being seen that the point that Chatterjee makes is also viable for Ottoman-Turkish modernization. That character of the non-Western modernization brings about the differentiation of the intellectual framework of modernization from the process available in the West. Taking that into account it is being seen that the spiritual field has a dichotomous function. Firstly, the common rationale is that the decadent effect of Western civilization could be eliminated by way of Islamic values. Those who supported the Ottoman modernization mainstream put forward that the way to prevent the society from death due to decadent values was by utilizing Islam as a shield upon the thoughts of the classical age sociologists that modernization is the 'disappearance of the social function of religion.' Even Abdullah Cevdet, one of the most decisive defenders of Westernization, affirmed Islam for preventing society from being disintegrated. Supporters of the mainstream modernization in the Ottoman period claimed that the solution for the social disintegration which Durkheim called the anomie and Weber called the loss of holiness was to revive the old "pure" form of Islam.

One of the reasons why Islam was treated in this way may be modernization was conceived as a project in the Ottoman-Turkish tradition from the beginning. The fact that the transition to modernization was later than the West enabled Ottoman intellectuals to set up the project based on both positive and negative developments in the West. Thereby the project constructed included the social reservations that modernization created socially in the West within its scope.

Secondarily, Ottoman rulers and intellectuals possessed spiritualism as a means to differentiate the Orient from the Occident. According to the notion of “inverse Orientalism” which Fatmagül Berktaş puts forward, the concept of inverse orientalism defines the focal point of this differentiation very well. Inverse orientalism has been strengthened by an understanding that supports the spiritual values in the Orient have been glorified however the Occident has been spiritless and it is being a civilization based on material values only (Berktaş, 2003, s. 281). It has been inferred from what the important thinkers wrote about and the attitudes of the administrative sector all of whom directed the Ottoman intellectual life that spiritual values were prioritized, and thereby we differentiated from the Occident. Henceforth, inverse orientalism has been constructed. The textbooks and other educational materials in the 18th century could be associated with that function that spiritual value should have been foregrounded. For long spiritual values had been identified with Islam. Whereas with Ziya Gökalp, it has been seen that Islam has been replaced by Turkish culture. Ekmeleddin İsmailoğlu puts forward that the curricula of Western-oriented modern schools in the Ottoman period of the earlier time were constructed in the context of the synthesis of European resources and Islamic texts. However, as the process progresses Islamic texts were deserted and Western references were utilized most of the time (İhsanoğlu, 1991: 114-5). However, the transformation which İhsanoğlu puts forward, it cannot be said that the transformation in the curricula had no one-to-one equivalence in the intellectual life. The privileged status of Islam in Namik Kemal’s thought, Şemsettin Sami’s, publication of a pamphlet called “Islamic Civilization” dated 1879 which defended Islam against Western orientalist thought’s attacks which put Islam as a target supports the point. Şemsettin Sami (1850-1904) was an important figure in the development of Turkism (Turkish nationalism). Furthermore, Islam was unreplaceable in Ziya Gökalp’s parole “Turkification, Islamization, and Modernization.” It could be claimed that Islam was conceived as the most important guarantee of differentiation from the West in social political and intellectual life at least until the foundation of the Turkish Republic.

It has been seen that such pious modernism has changed since the second half of the twentieth century. Henceforth, modernity independent from the tradition rather than strictly tied to the tradition becomes foregrounded. As a consequence of that transformation, individualism, self-seeking, egoism, and hedonism become positively idealized rather than being negated just as they had been before. One of the best domains in which the new woman type has been idealized is also literature. The critique against that typology will have been made upon the work by Ayşe Kulin, *Her Name is Aylin (Adı Aylin)*, and the work by Adalet Ağaoglu, *(To Go to Bed as to Die) (Ölmeye Gitmek)*.

2. Conservative Modernization, Literature, and Woman

One of the major fields in which the mainstream of preserving the spiritual tradition while being technically Westernized becomes solidified is literature. Henceforth, the construction of literary characters has been transcended by that pious reaction in the spiritual domain. One of the most controversial characters in Ottoman-Turkish literature from the mid-nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century is a character who conceives the superiority of the West, negates everything, and reduces Westernization into the transformation of behavioral patterns. The most specific feature of that character who has been covered in different works is his inclination to consumption, gambling, and illegitimate sexual affairs. That character is never productive but consuming, money for him is not an aim but a means as is visible in the Western bourgeoisie. The only association between that typology and economics is limited to the ability to create the financial resources that could fuel the frenzy of consumption. Felatun Bey available in Ahmet Mithat's *Felatun Bey and Rakıp Efendi* (1875) and Behrouz Bey is available in Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem's *Love for Cart (Araba Sevdası)* (Ekrem, 2004), Şatiroğlu Şöhret available in the novel *Smart (Şık)* by Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1889) and the character Suphi available in *Zehra* by Nabizade Nazım (1896) are such characters (Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 1997, pp. 34-41). Felatun Bey, as an inheritor of big wealth, spends all his time on the European side of the capital Istanbul gambling and engaging with easygoing women in modern places. Behrouz Bey by Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem is a typical Westernized snob, his most striking feature is his devotion to the material side of the Western civilization. He wastes his father's wealth on horse-drawn cars (Mardin, 1997: 35-6). According to Mardin, those characters constructed in a humorous style have been the sole concrete characters available in the literature throughout the 19th century and the 20th century (Mardin, 1997: 41).

Many thinkers have conceived that the intellectual type created by Ottoman-Turkish modernization is degenerate rootless and hostile to the traditional values of the society. Their baseline was the types in the literature and their representation in daily life. A representative sample may be Erol Güngör who was a nationalist sociologist in the second half of the twentieth century: “In the intellectual culture, there is no ethical code with a profound normative value system. The legal codes borrowed from foreign countries have not constructed any normative value system, because such legislation was based on the national traditions and values of the host countries. The intellectual is both excluded from the non-official law and the traditions and values of the foreign countries. He feels obliged to conform to the laws of others when they are stronger than him. In essence, as the life philosophy of the intellectual was based on vulgar materialism, it is natural to expect his conduct is delineated around motives of personal interest” (Güngör, 1999, p. 37).

However, when Ottoman-Turkish modernization has been considered from a diverse perspective, it is seen that the standpoint does not reflect the facts. Through Ottoman-Turkish modernization, an intellectual and human typology that prioritizes everything Western and disregards everything traditional has been foregrounded with Ottoman-Turkish modernization. However, those essential intellectuals and politicians who directed modernization defended that the own traditional values of the society must be preserved while adopting the industry, science, and technique of the West. The proof may be a reference to Islam by the modernist sultan Mahmud II with the name of Holy Warriors of Mohammad for the new army established upon the abolishment of the Janissaries in 1826, and extensive emphasis on Islam in the works by Namik Kemal (1840-1888) and Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924). Those points strengthen the idea (Karadaş, 2008, pp. 69-72).

As could be noticed those characters above and the characters Semiha and Faik Bey in *The Rental Mansion (Kiralık Konak)* have been fictionalized by a critical satire. It could be asserted that the major authors of the post-Reformation Decree (1839) critiqued, negated, and thereby depicted the desired modern human prototype. It is seen that such authors preserved and presented the mainstream conservative spirit very well. Nonetheless, it could be asserted that a conservative mainstream essence always revived forcefully upon the writings of such thinkers. The characters critiqued in the literary works are built upon the context of what we must not look like, they are otherized and what is desirable has been built upon that otherization.

The image of a “desirable” modern human being has mostly been built upon the fact of the woman. Furthermore, some characters who fuel that image in diverse ways have been created in Ottoman-Turkish literature. Seniha in *Rental Mansion* gives an idea about “how to become” over “how not to become” as the possessor of otherized behavioral patterns. Zehra’s character in the work *Is it Fresh or is it in Central Asia? (Turfanda mı Turfa mı?)* written by Mizancı Murat Bey has been created in a way that reflects how a direct modern woman typology must ideally become. In mainstream modernization, women have been demanded to act by the roles assigned to them for the perpetuation and peace of the society though equality of women and men has been emphasized. Honorable, non-sexually-driven, non-extravagant, nationalist, loyal to religious and modern values, and aware of Western science, literature, and art women stand for the “desirable” modern women image (Bora, 2005, pp. 241-277); (Durakbaşı, 1998, pp. 29-50). According to Berktaş,

“Ottoman women and men intellectuals who both support them and frame the practice and limits of the discourse base the necessity of education for women on the ground to fulfill the role of wife and mother in a better way and on the other hand nationalist elements have more been covered in the discourse in parallel to the development of national consciousness” (Berktaş, 2003, s. 93-94).

One of the literary works in which the desirable women and men types of mainstream modernization have been solidified is the novel *Kiralık Konak (The Rental Mansion)* (1922) which belonged to one of the two leaders of the Union and Progress Party. It was written by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, who was an influential author in the circle of Atatürk (1889-1974). Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu was among the perpetual authors of the journals *Kadro* and *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* which have been influential in the formation of Republican ideology.

In *the Rental Mansion*, the conflict between the two generations of the Ottoman modernization, namely the Re-Organization generation of the late 1840s and Abdelhamid II (whose reign was between 1876 and 1909) generation was fictionalized around Naim Efendi who was one of the influential figures of the era of Re-Organization and his granddaughter Seniha. Although there are some foreign characters except them, the theme of the work circulates around those two characters.

The conflict between Naim Efendi and Seniha is not the conflict between the aristocracy whose impact tends to diminish and disappear and the newly

bourgeoning bourgeoisie. Both characters are members of the same family and the distinction stems from the structures of thought, the way to conceive life, and their expectations of life. Thereby, it is difficult to make an analysis based on social class that we will be able to make while interrogating *The Cherry Orchard* and *Heartbreak House* (Shaw, 1990) later. The reason why making an analysis based on social class is difficult is in the absence of long-generation economic activity and wealth. Nonetheless, it is a fact that there was a circulation of money of consecutively increasing amounts since the mid-19th century when the Ottoman Empire started to go into a period of capitalist development and integration into the West and it could be thought that Naim Efendi and his father got richer with the circulation. Ubiquiti, who traveled into the Ottoman land in the mid-19th century, talks about a group of pashas who got richer by Islamic tithes (Ubicini, pp. 297-298). Mardin also points out a similar point citing Cevdet Pasha (Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 1997, p. 47):

“According to Cevdet Pasha, Prime Minister Reshid Pasha and his followers opened new horizons to spend the money freely, which they acquired by öşür tax.

It could be thought that Naim Efendi and his father were amongst the mentioned pashas. As the Reorganization period was a transitional period in terms of modernization and capitalist development, the bureaucratic generation was the wealthy of the transitional period and lost their economic activities gradually after a certain stage of integration into the capitalism of the Ottoman Empire. The period of that loss was not covered a little in Ottoman-Turkish literature. Except for the Rental Mansion, in the novel, *The Inhabitants of the Captivated City (Esir Şehrin İnsanları)* by Kemal Tahir for example how Kâmil Efendi, whose father was a former prime minister, went into bankruptcy economically and how he began to lose his “capital” were covered in a striking style. Henceforth, as mentioned above, it is difficult to conduct an analysis based on social class, it is as difficult to analyze the characters in the novels and to understand the fiction of the novel without considering the transformation of economic processes.

The element of the novels by which generation transformation could be best followed is the transformation of the house being lived in. Transition into an apartment from a type of mansion stands for the transition from the mentality of a generation into another. However, the mansion covered in the novel is the product of the Reorganization period with the social stratum it represents, and thereby it is not pre-modern but it is a novel type of settlement available after the

Ottoman Empire encountered the West. What is at stake is a type of settlement in an early period of modernity was replaced by another modern structure. Here, the mansion is not the carrier of a deep-rooted family tradition as available in the *Cherry Orchard* by Chekhov. *Cherry Orchard* could be traced to family nobility based over centuries, however, the mansion in the novel is a type of settlement that symbolizes a structure of mentality that started with the father of Naim Efendi and which ended with Naim Efendi. Here mansion is not a type of dwelling in the pre-modern period when individuality in society was not developed, either. According to Habermas, collective rather than individual areas of use were dominant in the dwelling of pre-modernity. According to him, as individuality increased in parallel with the increase in the modern public zone, private use in the house in the form of a private room for each individual overlapped it (Habermas, 2007, s. 118-9). Henceforth, the mansion is not a dwelling where there are collective use zones and where individuals do not have private rooms, but a settlement that represents a house type of early modernity where each character who lives in the house has a private room. It is seen that in *the Rental Mansion* every character who lives in the mansion has a private room.

Yakup Kadri expresses the difference between the two generations concerning dressing in the novel in this way:

“Two ages occurred in Istanbul: One is Stambolin age, the other is the age of riding-coat... Inhabitants of Istanbul never became as elegant, polite, and clean as in the age of Stambolin. The greatest work of Holy Decree of Re-Organization is Istanbul gentleman with Stambolin. The new way of dressing created a new type of man and Turks looked like a highly specific nation between wild Asia and harsh Europe for the first time... In Turkey, bihousesse with Caucasian slaves, eunuchs, and Bosnian gardeners started in that age in essence. What high-rank statesmen established as the cradle of Ottoman gentry was Stambolin with taffeta lining and many buttonholes... Afterward, the riding-coat age occurred and a generation half servant, half slave, hypocrite, and banal emerged. The highest, the gentlest faces of the age looked like slaves. Even each one of those guys who were among the most influential men of Abdelhamid II looked like horse-tamers who mistakenly took the cart of their masters. In their lives, the life of mansions suddenly turned into life in kiosks. Neither life, thinking, nor dressing had more of a gentle style; everything got out of the tradition. Every mind is filled with untasteful and decadent New Art and Rococo style. Our morality and etiquette turned into Rococo just like our buildings, furniture, and dresses. No sign of Ottoman spirit with a well-proportioned,

gentle, and traditionalist root character of the Abdülmecid era could be traced. Naim Efendi was almost from that riding-coat generation, however; when his body was younger, he was grown up with Stambolin, and thereby developed” (Karaosmanoğlu, 1997, s. 20-22).

Naim Efendi is an alien who is the carrier of the former generation among the individuals of the new generation:

“All the memoirs, tastes, and chats of Naim Efendi, everything that makes him laugh and cry belong to forty years before. Anyone who listens to him and encounters him closely thinks that he recently opens his eyes out of half-a-century-old lethargy (deep sleep with no waking) and looks at his surroundings with astonishment. He has been a man who is always surprised, and who loathes, trembles, and misses of a life that is lost” (22).

Servet Bey, who is the son-of-law of Naim Efendi, and the father of Seniha, and who is the son of a prime minister has been depicted as a decadent type with no ties with the tradition.

“Servet Bey is a son of a prime minister; who hates Islam and Turkhood... No one amongst Turks has been that feverishly and ambitiously admirer of Western values (25).

Whereas Seniha is a character who has been alienated from her roots, refuses all the moral values of the society, and whose focus of life is consumption and Europe. Due to her rootlessness, Seniha has an inconsistent character with her almost unstable mood. Her admiration of Europe is so *profound* that even her father Servet Bey remains primitive compared to her:

“Generally, even the thoughts and behavior of his father, Servet Bey, looked primitive, disabled, and strange. Therefore, the end of the century is a kind of social example that keeps her distinct from the rules of domestic and social life both present and past and she is subject to newly arising movements of the future. Seniha always looked like the pictures in recent fashion magazines. Just like her green eyes whose color changes by the light of the day, the composition of her voice, the harmony of her gestures, and the shape of her head change. Her inner structure was like her outer structure, her spirit which just resembles her color of eyes is either trembling, sad, blurred, and bad or clear, stagnant, and mostly gay as bonfires. However, there is an unchanging characteristic of her tiny and evil existence that she is satirical and lustful” (27).

Europe was almost paradise for Seniha:

The felicity and enlightened cities of Europe allured her to themselves in a magical way. What is an oasis for someone walking in a desert was exactly

Europe for Seniha. Whatever she does, whatever she performs was for going there, where she has now had no value in her eyes” (55).

One of the instances in which the gap in mentality between Seniha and Naim Efendi appears is their opinions concerning marriage and love affairs. Seniha is the lover of Faik Bey who leads a Western way of life just like her, who has lost his ties with the tradition, despises every kind of moral rule, gambles, and flirts with different women, and though the couple comes together and has sex they do not plan to get married. According to them, people must flirt and know about each other for a while, have sex before getting married, and must get married if they agree. According to the expression of Yakup Kadri, Naim Efendi cannot understand that case though he is not pious:

“Nevertheless, a new type of marriage has seemed to be indecent and improper rather than bad. What is the mystery, excitement, and attraction of being a bride and bridegroom for that girl and boy who have acquainted themselves closely before the wedding? What is the meaning of happiness and felicity in the wedding of those who have come close before trembling while opening the veil of the bride and bride blushing at the moment? Ouch, how pity the newly growing generation! The children of the future would get rid of such traditions as respect, loyalty, and customs, but at the same time, they would be deprived of the customs and felicity such traditions supplied. They would become more superficial; they would be impolite and their fate would be that they would become here and there aimlessly and one day they would fall into a well or would be drowned at sea” (55).

It must not be conceived that Seniha who was the representative of the new life had bourgeois morality or behavior of calculation. Unlike a bourgeois, money is not an aim but a means for Seniha. How money is made is none of her business; what is important for her is getting married to a wealthy man and satisfying her desires concerning consumption:

“Seniha was from the polite and desirable family of girls who do not need the notion of money violently... The granddaughter of Naim Efendi is a girl who loves money for money. What was that vulgarism more than excessive make-up, excessive excitement, living in an easy-going way, excessive traveling?” (57-58)

The best sentences which express the consumer nature of Seniha have been dropped out of the mouth of Faik Bey having been deserted by Seniha:

“She does not love any of living beings. No man, no dog, no cat no chick. What she loves are always cloth, precious stones, paintings, cozy large rooms, carts, shoes, and lingerie. The man who provides her with those becomes like a

go because such a man is a wonderful creature who brings her all the idols she adores” (203).

Seniha ignores making money just like her grandfather. Though Naim Efendi could not be deemed to be an exact aristocrat as he is not from a rooted family with centuries-long, aristocratic behavior patterns, it could be asserted that, has been influential in his disregarding monetary matters and commerce. Notwithstanding according to Weber Western aristocracy negates money-making matters and thereby despises the bourgeoisie whose vocation is built upon making money (Weber, 1998, pp. 187-189). Nonetheless, it is difficult to explain the manners of Naim Efendi concerning money just with aristocratic behavior patterns in which money is despised as his father became rich involving monetary matters. As mentioned above, there was a bureaucratic sector that became richer with the Re-Organization, however, the members of that bureaucratic sector became richer with the shares they obtained from those who performed economic activities rather than involving one-to-one capitalist economic activity-trade and industry. That is the traditional ruling class could become rich with the shares they obtained with the commercial networks developed in the country and without much involvement in economic activities and assimilation of bourgeois rationality, too. Heretofore, Naim Efendi’s distanced stance on monetary matters may stem from the fact that he is not from a family tradition that makes money with bourgeois rationality. To a certain extent, Naim Efendi begins to sell his immovables as he cannot improve the broken economic situation. In opposition to Ragip Efendi who prioritizes economic rationality in the sales process, Naim Efendi regards intuition more. The debate between Ragip Efendi and Naim Efendi is on selling the mansion where the family spends their summer months or the shops in the inn in Vefa. Ragip Efendi regards the economic benefits of Naim Efendi and wants the sale of the mansion in Kanlica which was not used for several years and which was a quarter of Istanbul downgraded by the public at times. The value of the shops in Vefa has gradually increased and once they are renovated their value would increase much more. Naim Efendi is for selling the shops instead of selling the mansion where they have spent the most beautiful days of his childhood (pp. 94-95).

Though Seniha does not have a bourgeois mentality, she cares for her individuality. However, that individuality is not an individuality within the context of “emancipation of mind” which is symbolized within the Enlightenment philosophy of the West and which depends on the economic ground created by

the bourgeoisie. It is freedom of traditional norms in the form of losing her control, having excitement to the unlimited extent she desires, and consuming unlimitedly. It has nothing to do with intellectual development. While talking to her grandfather, Seniha pronounces the following:

“Everybody has her lifestyle. You think that everybody can live just like everybody lives. As if my mother had lived and gotten old in that mansion, I would supposedly consent to live and get old just like herself. Nonetheless, I live my own life. It is thereby I hesitate to share my life with a man whom I love; because, I aim at staying alone with all my pleasures, tastes, sadness, and excitements, thereby preserving my selfhood. A beloved man is one of the voices which calls us, but a man to share his life takes to that voice. He walks either in front of or behind us, he preserves us intact from accidents, saves us from hardships, tries to correct our mistakes, makes our spendings” (123).

The character in the novel who best represents the world of Yakup Kadri's thoughts and emotions is Hakki Celis. Celis is like the spokesman of Yakup Kadri in the novel. He has a poetic spirit that does not tend to refuse everything traditional just like Seniha, Faik Bey, and Servet Bey, and does not accept everything in Western style with the wording of the age *all Franca* in an unlimited way including excessive sexuality and consumerism. Towards the end of the novel, he inclined toward Turkish nationalism, joined the Dardanelles War, and died during the war. The following thoughts of Hakki Celis explain the ties between the generation symbolized by Naim Efendi and Seniha's generation very well. The problem between the two generations is not the loss of power of a sovereign class and its replacement by a new one; it is the emergence of the latter in the path the first started. Seniha generation has created Westernization which Naim Efendi generation gave momentum by the Reorganization Decree. Henceforth, it is a conflict between different belts of the same sector.

The one who observes and feels the bad situation of Naim Efendi better than anyone else is Hakki Celis. He has never coincided with such a tragic old face not only in life but in none of the novels he has read; that man looks like a sign for something, a symbol of something. Old historians assert that if events occur in life have signed both in the land and in the sky. If this is correct, Naim Efendi is one of the dreadful ghosts on the verge of a new age. Undoubtedly, the last cry of the past we left behind and the first shudder of the cliff before us is Naim Efendi. Apart from that, the grandfather of Seniha, according to Hakki Celis, is at the same time was both punishment and punished. It was a

punishment, for the world he left behind, he was punished before the unlucky and idle generation (belts, his offspring) which welcomed him. The poison circulating in the veins of Naim Efendi was from the extract and seed of the ivy planted in the own gardens of those who were like him and himself. The monster which destroyed the foundation of one of those rare Ottoman mansions by a light shoe kick is undoubtedly the work of Naim Efendi, more than anyone else... the Re-Organization mainstream which started with that nobility and endurance by any chance left samples of a woman like Seniha and a man like Faik Bey amidst Istanbul. The last experience of civilization that Turkish genius made came and created nothing more than a bitter examination for the next generations. Halis Celis was talking to himself as such: 'Isn't the meaning both in the hiccup of Naim Efendi and in the laughter of Seniha?' (179-180)

Towards the end of the novel, a new war-rich sector that became rich during the time of the speculation of World War I was talked about (202). Kemal Tahir talks about the same rich created by the war in his novel called *A Fortress of Ownership (Mülkiyet Kalesi)*, too (Tahir, 1982, p. 202). It could be understood from a dialogue in the novel of Yakup Kadri that it is objectionable to call those sectors who became rich by the war “bourgeois”:

“Even in Germany... But gentleman, those who make money there are not such cheap men. They are self-trained businessmen, they make money, they also know how to keep it, but those who are like that... They (those who became rich by the war are not even aware of the business deal, and they would lose everything they obtained under the title of wealth without noticing it” (228).

The last stage in which Europe-admirer Seniha’s character evolved is living easy-going affairs with those officers who came to Istanbul due to World War I. The stage which is going to be cited as follows is from a party in Seniha’s house:

“The room has so heavily been face-to-face full. There is a good number of Oriental sofa corners over which German officers sat cross-legged, Wiener women lying next to each other with drums or guitars in their hands and youngsters from Pera who try to smoke the long pipe taken from the wall. Everybody is making fun of themselves. Seniha was always circulated by an unresolved chamber either standing or sitting. In a chamber that consists of four different languages spoken, four different sexes, and four different ages, at least eight males stand up whilst Seniha stands up. As long as Seniha starts to walk, they walk along with her and as long as she goes somewhere to sit down, they do the same” (184).

That one and similar stages are plausible to have taken place in Istanbul during World War I and afterward. Just that, as it is available in the novel *A Fortress of Ownership (Bir Mülkiyet Kalesi)* (1977), the sexual adventures experienced by the kind of people like Seniha with European officers have turned into reality ended up being adventures:

High-class women-including especially women of the palace who were so eager to be invited to the balls in the foreign ships-were proud of being kissed by an English officer dragged by the hair like a prostitute charged. German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian officers were easily replaced by the English, French, American, and Italian officers. According to the opinion of the ladies, it became better. Because Germans looked to be from the North, they are almost impotent in bed. They are like sparrows... It didn't taste much ma, Cherie! Then there was a gentle stance in the British, and there was childish malice that takes out the deepest side of women's spirit in Frenchmen. It was tasteful to experience the original spoiled mannerism of Americans and the heart-touching romantic manners of Italians. Dersaadet (Istanbul) looked very much like Saigon with its several famous quarters. What a pity, Istanbul nights were cool unlike the tropical climate in Saigon. Henceforth, the weather touched the human flesh like a hot and damp curtain, but cannot affect the nerves slowly, and thereby cannot shake his spirit with desire (Tahir, 1982, p. 167).

It would be an exaggerated argument to claim the character Seniha which has been covered critically has no equivalent in Ottoman-Turkish modernization. It is a fact that a person type who despises all her traditional values and who idealizes everything Western-Western style emerged in the modernization process. And that type of person and the political understanding which represents it could not become the mainstream that directed the Ottoman-Turkish modernization. The mainstream that directed the modernization process displayed a conservative and progressive mannerism also with the effect of positivism which was symbolized by the understanding of Auguste Comte *or ét progress* (order and progress), such characters who were distracted from the tradition, and who can destroy social integrity were marginalized, thereby ideal men and women typologies were created. The authors who covered the decadent human type who distracted from the tradition satirically and critically reflected the spirit of mainstream modernization: the reason why undesirable was to contribute to the construction of the desirable. The presentation of the fundamental concerns of modernization over womanhood and manhood is viable in a good number of literary works. Another example is the characters Mansur and Zehra available in *Is it Fresh or*

is it in Asia? (Turfanda mı Turfa mı?) (1890) written by Mizancı Murad Bey (1854-1917). Though it is a poor work literarily, the characters depicted are important as they reflect the structure of the period. In this work, Mansur is a character who assimilated the science and material values of the West, religious as could be called Islamist, who inhabits his bodily and sexual desires, who does not validate flirting and sexual immorality, and whose only concern is the development of the state and society. Zehra, who has been fictionalized as a symbol of honor is Western-educated, she knows how to play the piano, and she is ultimately honorable, she refuses sexual desires, flirting, consumerism, and rootlessness. The main concern in Zehra's life is the protection and development of the society and state (Murad, 2004). Just like in most of the Ottoman-Turkish works of literature, these two characters are the children of influential families of the period, and just like in other words, the masses of people, laborer sectors "to develop" have few roles.

In *Love for Cart (Araba Sevdasi)* by Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem (1847-1914), reducing Westernization into a frenzy of consumption is critiqued by a male figure. The favorite activities of Bihrouz Bey, the hero of the novel, are going to coiffure, wearing clothes of famous trademarks, walking around, and show-off. Behrouz Bey led his life in the mansion in Süleymaniye in Winter and the kiosk in Küçük Çamlıca in Summer with his family. Upon the death of the pasha, Bihrouz Bey inherits a loaded fortune. When he starts to wander around in a yellow-color horse-cart called Lando one day, he encounters a young girl who is in her twenties, blond, of medium height, and slim, and falls in love with that woman there. He meets Perivesh Hanim amidst Çamlıca Garden. He cannot keep the young woman whom he called blondish out of his mind. Behrouz Bey walks behind Perivesh Hanim and the old woman who is her servant and presents her with a flower, and he tries to discover whether she will come to the garden next week to see her again but he cannot. Behrouz Bey who is keen on his comfort and show-off, who wants to display himself and wants to be noticed by anybody in any environment starts to consume up all the belongings he has inherited from his father. First, he dismisses the teachers other than the French teacher who come to the house. He then sells the shop, store, and house he has inherited from his father. He perpetuates his luxurious life, a Western way of life considering the jewelry of his mother and the mansion they live in. He rarely goes to the government office where he has been assigned and goes from place to place with his cart and he perpetuates show-off with clothes of expensive trade-marks. He returns home, takes private French lessons, goes to the harem

side of the mansion, thinks about Perivesh Hanim, and starts to daydream. He wants Monsieur Pierre, his French instructor, to talk about love. He writes a letter to Perivesh Hanim expressing his emotions about her and cites a poem from the French language, and sends the letter to her. As long as he discovers that a word in the poem addresses a dark woman rather than a blond one near her, he becomes ridiculous and feels sorry for that. He talks about his desire to meet her and at times he goes to the place to see Perivesh Hanim, but she never comes. Behrouz Bey feels pity for the situation and visits different places at different hours to see her. Behrouz Bey's heart becomes broken profoundly upon the mannerism of Perivesh Hanim whom he admires. However, Perivesh Hanim has never promised him anything and perhaps she threw away his letter to the road or a bay without reading it. His debts become huge and he never cares about them. Although he plans to sell the kiosk when he needs money, his mother does not consent that to him. He is obsessed with Perivesh Hanim, and when he talks to Keyfi Bey, his colleague from the government office, Keyfi Bey says that he knows her and her family and she died of typhoid. Behrouz Bey becomes deeply disturbed as if he had a deep love affair with her. He returns home and can never accept the fact. His governess cannot endure his pain and informs his mother about the situation. Having rested for a few days at home he goes for a wander and just as he is about to take the Scutari ferry, he sees her on the ferry. He becomes very surprised with astonishment and excitement. At that moment he realizes that Keyfi Bey lied and goes near him to display it. However, Keyfi Bey says that she is not Perivesh Hanim and that the woman whom he saw on the ferry was Perivesh Hanim's sister. Behrouz Bey becomes deeply frustrated again. His creditors write a letter to him and they hurry him up. And one day he takes the cart to the repairman and as long as Kondraki, his creditor, notices the cart while being repaired, he confiscates the cart and the horses. Behrouz Bey becomes relieved as he ended up his debt. Because he thinks the cart and horses cost more than they deserved. Upon the demand of his mother, Behrouz Bey decides to stay in Istanbul for one more year and continues his private lesson with the Monsieur. The only desire of Behrouz Bey is to visit Perivesh Hanim's grave and leave there a flower for her. One day he meets the blond woman he saw on the ferry when he wanders in street and goes near the woman whom he thinks is Perivesh Hanim's sister. He tells her that he is very upset as Perivesh Hanim died, that he is in love with her, and that he wants to know where her grave is. Upon that, the blond woman says that she is herself Perivesh Hanim, that she has no sisters and that the cart they took that day did

not belong to her, and that she is not rich in a satirical way, and leaves him. Behrouz Bey becomes deeply frustrated again.

The reason why Behrouz Bey tries to speak French and wear European clothes and wander with a cart is not that he is cultured, but to show himself as modern to the surroundings and he envies the West. After Behrouz Bey falls in love with Perivesh Hanim, he tried to read several poems and books but he did it for acquiring her admiration. The Perivesh character who occurs in the novel prepares promptly every Friday and Monday and goes to the Garden and rents a London to look rich. Most of the characters which occur in the novel speak French including the servant of Behrouz Bey, Michel.

While those women and men characters who have been Westernized on one hand and who preserve their cultural values, on the other hand, are idealized in that novel which covers all of Istanbul in the late 19th century with all its ethnic diversity, those characters who give up their traditions are negated. The author mainly moves on women characters while displaying the ideological stances of the characters. Thereby, womanhood is not only fictionalized as sex but at the same time a phenomenon that ideology presents.

The third work to study on that issue is *Muhadarat* by Fatma Aliye, one of the first woman authors (1892). The novel takes place between three upper-class families from both Istanbul and Beirut, the women and men included in the family by marriage and the servants. The families are rich of uttermost level and live in mansions as large families. Daily life, women-men affairs, and romantic affairs are the main topics of the novel.

The protagonist we follow in most of the novel, Fazila character, has lost her mother at the age of seven and lives with her brother and father in her family's mansion. She takes over the care and education of her brother six years younger than her. Calibe's character involves in the story upon the decision of her father to get married as he has lost his wife, and thereby he feels insufficient in childcare and house management. Calibe is a traditional stepmother type. She does not love Sai Efendi, the father of the children, she only gets married to him to lead a comfortable and luxurious life with material means. She detests the children of the house for no apparent reason, she not only treats them well, but she also dismisses those servants who do their chores and those governesses who treat them well, and thereby recruits those who will act as she desires. Furthermore, she hinders the marriage of Fazila with Mükerrerem, her childhood friend and the son of Münevver Hanim, the friend of Sai Efendi's first wife with slanders and intrigues. She achieves to show the situation to her husband

as the opposite. According to Sai Efendi, his wife takes care of the children, does everything for their good as much as she can, and she feels upset about the misfortunes his children suffer from. The facts that Sai Efendi leads his life unaware of the situation at home and feels the urgent need to get married shortly after the death of his wife show that men are not interested in house management and those chores have been undertaken by women, thereby traditional practices have been perpetuated.

Mükerrem Bey, the son of the nearby mansion, with whom Fazila has been engaged since she was sixteen years old is depicted as humble, well-informed, and respectful just like Fazila is. Two families have been acquainted for a long time, and they support each other on hard days. Calibe has hindered the engagement in that she convinced Sai Efendi that Mükerrem Bey drinks alcoholic beverages every night and he is drunk. The fact that Sai Efendi broke off the engagement as long as he hears the situation and he does even not take Münevver Hamin, the mother of Mükerrem and his long-time friend, into account in the issue show that there is alcohol intolerance. As that situation signifies, traditionalism is at stake.

Fazila is an ideal character in the novel. She is always respectful to her parents primarily to her father, she is loving and care-taking for her siblings, she takes education seriously, and she likes reading very much. Since her mother had died and her stepmother had come home, she both took care of her sibling despite her young age and tried to undertake house management. She loves her father very much, despite everything her stepmother does, and despite her father letting her do them, she thinks nothing negative about her father claiming that her father has been fooled by her stepfather. She was made to get married to someone her stepmother matched having broken off the engagement. Her husband, Remzi is also quite well-off just like Fazila's family, but as he became rich at a later period his material well-being and his level of character do not match. More than that, he is not worth Fazila in terms of life skills, he does not treat her in a good way, he does not spend any time with her at home, and he has relations with other women. On the other hand, despite all those Fazila has strong feelings for Remzi just like she has for her father. As she conceives that a wife must love her husband as a consequence of her family upbringing despite mistreatment, she waits for her husband at night without sleeping, tries to spend time with him, and tries to do his service by herself without letting servant do them. Even when her husband wants to see other women, she tries to accept the situation with pain though it is dishonorable. Upon infusing Fazila's

thoughts, we notice that she has even inhibited her feelings for Münevver with whom she has been engaged since she was 14 years old, she does not let herself feel anything for him. Fazila is a character who leads so controlled life that she can even arrange her feelings within the framework of expectations of society and good mannerisms. Her feelings develop by the rules concerning what to feel and when to feel them. Fazila's situation is a strong example of the anti-individualism of traditional societies. Social morality determines Fazila's thoughts and emotions beyond her conduct.

In the book, the antagonist of Fazila is her stepmother, Calibe. Calibe was grown up in a middle-class family and she always wanted more. She has romantic feelings for Süha, her cousin, whom Fazila's father guards and who lives with them. However, she does not accept to get married to him as he cannot provide her with an affluent life due to his material conditions. Thereby, she marries Sai Efendi whom she chose even objecting to her father in the issue. We notice that Calibe leads a life upon her desires keeping them a secret from Sai Efendi and manipulating him for years, she attends parties, and she leads a life of pleasure and comfort as much as she can conceal them from Sai Efendi and she does not care for morality rules. As Sai Efendi provides her with material means, she does not care about what others except him think about her, and she can adjust her conduct exactly to what she desires as she controls Sai Efendi herself. As it can be understood from that, the character for whom elements of individualization are most intensively seen is Calibe. From the standpoint of the author, Calibe is a selfish and self-seeking woman who wants more than society imposes upon her. As the plot develops, those features reach a climax, and in the end, at the end of a party night she becomes disclosed and becomes dismissed from the house and she destroys herself. The fact that the most modern and individualized character lives the most unfortunate fate, in the end, shows us the author's standpoint on the element of modernization concerning individualization and loss of moral values.

Fazila tries to accept everything with patience despite the experiences in her father's house and all the mistreatment of her husband:

"I do not think I will find comfort and happiness wherever I go with my misfortune. I have to endure it because it is my fate."

However, her honor cannot put up with her husband who brings other women into the house overtly and in the end, she decides to escape. She prefers working in any job which can provide her with a living including being a servant. In that second part of her life, she does not bother about serving well-off people

whose position she was in. even when she was “sold” as a woman slave and when she was not officially free, she says that she feels herself free as much as she has never been before.

Fazila is always respectful to his father and all those older than her, and she never breaks her father’s word, however, there are some points in which she can be more elastic from her perspective, too. As we can understand from the quotation below, it is not possible to choose the man to marry for a woman, however, Fazila’s thought of refusing anyone she does not want to get married to is a significant element of individualization.

“Though she cannot say ‘I want that man to get married, make me marry to him,’ she can say ‘I do not want that man to marry, do not make me marry to him.’”

Although there is foreign vocabulary in the dialogs between the characters, we do not meet Islamic terminology. We follow the characters all day long in their daily lives, and we listen to daily activities such as eating, writing, and sitting in a library with their details, however, we do not witness any worship, there are no religious elements in children’s upbringing. Instead, there are activities such as French, and piano concerning Western culture in their upbringing. In short, Islamic practices are not part of the daily lives of the characters of the author. In between the lines, we learn that the hijab and the division of households as haremlik (women’s section) and selamlık (men’s section) continues, but such practices have both been encountered in an elasticized form, and the author does not emphasize them in daily life. That situation makes us think that daily life is on the way be modernized. When Fazila escapes from home not being able to endure her husband’s mistreatment, the only way out is suicide. Because her father has not accepted her to return home again upon her stepmother’s insistent wishes. Fazila has no probability to obtain income to make a living, either. Moreover, she does not find decent living independently as a woman who deserted her husband, and she thinks that the most honorable action is dying. As long as she arrives at the rocks escaping home at night, she gives up throwing herself off the cliff at the last moment. The thought that makes her give up is as follows:

I have been ashamed of people for divorcing my husband, working and making my living that I have attempted to commit a sin which God bans. Shouldn’t I be ashamed of God?

Islam does not influence the daily lives of the characters much. However, in that most difficult and critical moment what turns the direction of Fazila’s life

is Islam. As it could be inferred from that incident, although the author is positive about modernization in the issues such as dressing, social activities, and the roles of women and men, she considers Islamic values and life compatible with the religion important and she thinks that must not be abandoned in significant issues.

3. Changing Modernity and Image of Women in the late 20th Century

We see that the negatively drawn typology of who lives by her desires and interests, who is consumer, and alien to her cultural values due to the conservative character of Ottoman modern literature of the second half of the 19th century and early 20th century has transformed since the second half of the 20th century. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that women's conduct which was deemed negative started to be idealized in the novel of the period. The image turned from negative to positive in the same behavioral pattern for both women and men stems from the change in the transformation of the perception of modernization. The conservative modernity of the former period has been replaced by novel modernity with no concern for the future due to the transformation in the class character of socialist thought, feminist movements, and modernity. The adoption of modern thought which is the discourse of the Ottoman rulers-elite by a larger bulk of people is one of the reasons for that change in the late 20th century.

Within the context, one of the cult works is the novel *Her Name is Aylin (Adı Aylin)* (1997) written by Ayşe Kulin (1941-). It is mentioned in the novel that the family roots of Aylin depend on Mustafa Naili Pasha, Mad Cretan, who was appointed as the prime minister by Sultan Abdulmecid due to his prominent achievement in the wars of the period which corresponds to the years of fall of the Ottoman Empire. Mustafa Naili Pasha, Mad Cretan, was known for his character, outspoken, courageous open-minded common sense. Who could guess that a girl named Aylin would inherit those characteristics? That shows that gens are re-vivified by being transmitted through generations even years after.

The major character of the novel has been introduced under the title Aylin. Aylin was born in Ankara carrying several features of her ancestors in 1938.

“The little girl would grow up listening to her grandfather’s characteristics. He was very proud, very obstinate, and tall. She would never grasp her passion for arms in her later years and her insane courage probably stem from imitation of the actions of Hasip Bey and Mustafa Naili Pasha having heard about them.

She would have courage beyond intellect. However, her mother gave birth to Aylin, who looked more like a man rather than a girl with her initiative-taking personality, bravery, her addiction to both arms and horses, to become a close friend Nilüfer who grows up, thereby making her mother pitiful (Kulin, 1997, p. 36).

While the author depicts the character Aylin in the text above, the author's associating the characteristics of Aylin with a man rather than a woman denotes that she cannot go beyond the traditional understanding in part. Aylin has conduct that has become a classic and displayed women can play the roles that are specified to men in society, too, going beyond the roles associated with women. We can see that reducing power and achievement to a single-sex, and thereby making it a taboo is unacceptable.

Aylin and Nilüfer have started to live in the Soysal apartment house which belongs to the family with those prominent figures of the period. Considering the first establishment years of the Republic of Turkey and the turbulence experienced in economic, sociological, and political fields, she was educated in the best schools a child could have. While Nilüfer studied at Notre Dame de Sion, Aylin studied at Ankara College. Aylin was very dependent on Nilüfer as a sister. Although Nilüfer took her into difficult situations, Aylin keeps her advice and would always follow her. Their first-time long separation started with Nilüfer's schooling in Istanbul. When Nilüfer returned to Ankara having graduated, her appealing beauty began to scare her mother. Nilüfer was also appealing with her intelligence, she thought profoundly about issues that would not strike her contemporaries and produced ideas on them. She studied metaphysics. She got introduced to and became a lover of the son of Aziz Tanrıseven, a famous businessman of the period. Her mother resisted the flirtation. Because when we consider Turkey in the period of the novel flirtation resulted in unpleasant conceptions in society. Especially when a woman is thought to be together with a man that led to doubts about her whether she was a prostitute both in society and her prospective husband candidates. Such pressures can result in the formation of suppressed emotions, riotous acts in youngsters, and the happening of undesirable situations. The example can be seen in Nilüfer. When she becomes 18 years old, she gets married to Aziz Tanrıseven concealing it from her family.

When Aylin graduates from college but could not be placed at university, she decides to work as a model for a while. Upon the resistance of her mother to that situation, Uncle Hilmi helps Aylin whom he loves as if she were his daughter. As we can see in the following pages of the novel, Uncle Hilmi always

supported her in some aspects of Aylin's life. We understand that the primary factor underlying that is Uncle Hilmi does not have any child and tries to fulfill his desire to have a child via Aylin. Just like her elder sister, Aylin starts to look more beautiful as she matures and attracts the attention of others. We can see that in the love stories she lives, short flirtations, and her marriages. Her never losing her shining beauty, childish emotions, and sharing joyful smiles have all been influential in her attracting the glazes of both men and women. Aylin has never experienced satisfaction in any of her love affairs and marriages.

When we look at the other chapters of the book that follow, the turning points of Aylin's life, her melancholy, happiness, achievements, marriages, and love affairs have been covered. Considering her private life, Aylin got married four times. Those consist of Ben Tekkouk Senussi, one of the Libyan princes of Arabic origin, Jean Pierre Egger, an Atomic Physicist, Michel Ramomisla, a Jewish Psychologist from Turkey, and Joseph Catesan, an American Producer. Though her love affairs perpetuate after her divorces, those can be seen in the forbidden affairs during her marriages. Aylin who got married to Prince Sanusi to become a princess has experienced frustration. Along with the frustration she has experienced, Sanusi's physical properties, his being older than Aylin, his restricting Aylin, and his deceiving her bothered Aylin and resulted in her forbidden affair with Polat. We can assert that Polat's family's objection to their love was another turning point in Aylin's life. Aylin decided to study in medical school after the age of 26. She thought that if I had been a doctor, I could have healed my mother, who died of cancer, and was influential in that. She graduated from Lausanne University Medical School Psychiatry Department with high achievement, thereby surprising her surroundings despite the negative comments of her milieu especially those of Nilüfer. She met Jean Pierre Egger meanwhile and decided to get married to him considering her interests. In the prospective years when no emotional ties remained between them and when they are only officially married, she lived a passionate love with Paswak, a diplomat from Afghanistan. Aylin loved Paswak so much that she did not take into account the fact that he is married, and she accepted to become his second wife and even dared to live with him in Afghanistan. However, the marital status and diplomatic career of Paswak and thereby his continuous traveling to different countries showed that they couldn't be together. Aylin met Michel Radomisli during a period when she experienced deep love and sorrow. She lived there the most beautiful and most intimate years of her life. Aylin became the most suggestible and demanded psychiatrist of the period. When she got

married Michel, they opened a clinic together and work in the same place. We can observe the successful communication with children in the activities she held with Michel's children, and her the pure affection she displayed for them. Aylin became the woman with whom they wanted to spend more than their real mother. Michel has been covered deeply in the novel. He has been depicted as handsome, polite, self-assertive, cultured, intelligent, and gentlemanly. Aylin kept continuous contact with him, kept communicating, and shared some of the problems concerning her life that she could not solve and received aid once needed. Aylin became attracted by men, thereby she became pleased. Especially the admiration of older men for her, their perpetual organizing travels abroad, going to operas and restaurants together shows the side of Aylin that always needs al-the-time consideration and affection. Though the author depicts Aylin as someone strong and whose primary concern is not money, we can see that she has in essence a materialist side by way of the men she had an affair with. We can see that in the end in her marriage to an American, Joseph Cates, as it could be said as old as her father. Though the reason why Aylin got married to Joseph Cates was to arrange her life, to lead an unstressful, peaceful, comfortable life, she also wanted to benefit from his surroundings rich and reputable. However, the fact that Joseph continuously cared for money, his stinginess, Joseph's daughters' perpetual treating Aylin as a stepmother, and slandering her in a bad way, which she did not deserve resulted in Aylin's failure to maintain the peacefulness she desired.

We can see that the real achievements in Aylin's life are in her performance in her vocational and social life except in her love affairs and marriages. The simplest example of that is her being the most requested doctor with a lot of applications of patients in the United States and her being oriented by doctors who cannot cure the most difficult cases which they cannot cure psychologically. Aylin who established a close tie with her patients even made good friends with them. Such examples may be Nun Nancy, Laurie Kraus, and Alex Cates.

Aylin had to have an abortion when she was pregnant with both Sanusi's and Polat's children. However, her desire to be a mother was never extinguished. During her marriage to Michel, she was pregnant six times all of which resulted in miscarriage with dreadful pains. Yet, she gave up when her last pregnancy would cost her life. Just like her mother told Nilüfer that Aylin was born for her and acted likewise, Nilüfer acted like her mother without noticing it years later and sent Tayyibe and Nouri, a servant who worked for them to the United States. Aylin and Tayyibe lived together for 10 years. During the period, Aylin

loved Tayyibe as if she had been her daughter, cared for her and Tayyibe became her comrade. Those people who were narrated in the book have changed place around Aylin's social life all through her life. Those people were narrated as separate types under separate chapter titles. The reason why those people were narrated in the novel is to show how a successful psychiatrist Aylin was in her vocational and social life. Compared with other works of the author, we see that the author tries to give an example of a successful Turkish woman just as in her other works. Aylin was tried to be shown as a woman who is tenacious all through her life, who perseveres, and who is noticeable with her achievements even though her emotional life is turbulent. Upon reading the book thoroughly, the book narrates her infancy, childhood, youth, educational life, vocational life, achievements, marriages, her love fragile, and the period she worked in the army stage by stage.

“Her husbands, new and ex-lovers, platonic affairs, admirers, friends, colleagues, patients... The people who are aware of the fact that they will not be able to listen to such enthusiastic, colorful polyphonic music all through their lives have the pleasure of knowing her and are perplexed by the pain of losing her suddenly...”

Those pictures were only several of the photographs of the farewell to Aylin in her last journey.

There were others.

Long long years ago when she was twenty years old, she was a crazy woman who was closed in the golden cage of an Arabian prince by her own will and flew out of the cage in a short while.

She was a hippy girl while she was singing a liberty song with her torn blue jeans following and wondering about flower children and shouting “Do not war but make love” and while she was hanging out with a physician who is studying for his Ph.D. degree at university.

She was a decisive ambitious student who started to study medicine choosing the longest and the most difficult faculty at the age of 26.

She was a successful doctor in New York where incredible dreams come true and where competition was severely practiced and which is the wild and magnificent center of the world.

She was a young woman who was crazily in love with an Afghan poet who was as old as her father.

She was the beloved wife of Michel Adomisli who had moved to New York from Turkey.

Aylin could not cope with the cities, and continents resulted in migration. Great achievements, solitude, great loves, and great pains...

Divorce... search... new loves...

And Joseph Cates.

And the army...

The last stop, last husband, last pain... The end!"

In her appraisal she wrote on *Her Name is Aylin*, Ayşenur İslam just emphasizes Aylin's detachment from the social surroundings where she lives and her cultural past:

"Aylin is an end-of-the-century who was not fed by the value judgments of the society she was born in, who does not share the values of her society in terms of tradition, culture, and belief, thereby who always search different milieus, however, who could not fill the gap that is untied to her root's leaves, who could not experience perpetual satisfaction and who could not direct her search. In a crowd, she lives growing her solitude. Her conflict of heart versus mind, the crises she time to time experiences make her feel vulnerable" (İslam, 2001, s. 73).

Nonetheless, this typology which is pathological in the early period of modernization was normalized during the period she lived.:

"While Aylin's affairs continue or end, was it necessary to explain her material benefit conflicts with her husbands or lovers with "good reasons"? Can't Aylin express the situation sufficiently sometimes becoming in corporeal form escaping from the author's imagination and fulfilling her selfhood? There is a mode of life that Aylin wants to live. That life requires much money and she either earns the amount of money that she decided to during her childhood or finds a man to finance her.' Why does Ayşe Kulin keep on repeating that she ignores money and she doesn't arrange her social affairs according to her material interests despite Aylin's confessions? How do such repetitions change the fact that she draws a circle by putting material means in the center?" (İslam, 2001, s. 74).

The point which must be problematized here is the standpoint of Ayşe Kulin while she was constructing the novel. The standpoint is the one that normalizes every conduct which is against cultural traditions and which is built upon earning money and attaining status. However, the exact real point is the existence of utilitarian self-seeking typology which can objectify human beings, values, and everything while most readers and critics interpret Aylin's character as the struggle of a successful free-spirited woman.

The other novel to study relevant to the topic is the novel *To Go Bed to Die (Ölmeye Yatmak)* (Ağaoğlu, 2015) (1973) by Adalet Ağaoğlu (1929-2020). The novel *To Go Bed to Die*, which has a significant place in Republican-Era Turkish novels, has the character being the first novel by Adalet Ağaoğlu. It is the first book of “*The Hard Times (Dar Zamanlar)*” trilogy. It is a novel of life constrained to a one-hour and twenty-minute time as the title implies. That work written by the stream of consciousness technique starts with the decision of the protagonist Aysel to go to bed to die in a hotel room as a result of a process of an interrogation of her forbidden affair. Here a forty-year of life between Aysel’s past and today has been presented by her inner monologues, pieces of life that have left a trace. The above-mentioned forty-year life coincides with the transition period from the Ottoman period to the Republican era between 1925 and 1950. Ağaoğlu directly refers to the period she lived in to grasp the dominant atmosphere of the novel:

“There is a direct sudden transition to a place whose name is a republic from the Ottoman State, Islamic State that has never been experienced by any country, any nation in the world as much. There is also a call here which is a requisite for being cut like scissors from a circle of culture” (Eronat, 2004, p. 60).

The events our protagonist deeply feels as the turmoil of the transitional period

“Covers the democratic age when the Republic has just been established and 600-century authoritarian empire regime has just ended and an era that has not just been able to pronounce its name” (Erten, 2004).

That transitional period, which coincides with the primary school years of the protagonist, starts with a primary school show headed by Dündar Bey, an idealist teacher. Each of the students represents the Republican child who would act patriotically in his/her prospective career. The expectations from the students are expressed by Teacher Dündar as follows:

“They must choose their careers by the idea of being a beneficial citizen for the good of our beloved country in the path Atatürk delineated by Atatürk, they must for their beautiful country perpetually without any repentance. When and if necessary, they must sacrifice their lives for those ideas...” (Ağaoğlu, 2015, s. 22)

Here our protagonist, Aysel, who is expected to reckon with her own life interrogates the whole society. Her life fulfills the expectations of the identities of a woman, a mother, a wife, and an academic apart from being an individual

of her own. Thereby, her first interrogation starts with focusing on her first responsibility to society, being a child of the Republic. Gazing at Amtkabir who is seen out of the window during her forbidden affair with her student as a married woman, she interrogates how far she has been out of her ideals, and how she has betrayed her ideology. After the incident which is key to the novel, Aysel proclaims herself as the culprit in psychological turmoil, she sometimes tries to clear herself. That act is based on reasoning by her milk mother, Ümmü, with an example:

“There was a milk mother, Ümmü. She was older than I thought. When I was a baby, I would suck her dry nipples... And she loved my way of sucking. Just because I choose her supposedly useless breasts instead of the big breasts of my mother. That was what pleased her... Alright... That was what pleased me. To share the youth... Not to care is to become generous. Not caring for the whole body. It was that. My student’s sheltering me. To this extent, the emotion is similar to satisfaction. Not to take his hand back” (Ağaoğlu, 2015, s. 116).

Within just that stage of the novel, Aysel’s revelation that kissing would not result in pregnancy upon being kissed by Ali, her primary school friend is reflected as a revolution or breaking of a taboo (social upheaval). The factors underlying Aysel’s conflicts can be listed as follows:

1- The vacuum of a Turkish woman who has economic freedom upon the inability of evaluating “marriage, sexuality, and standpoint of sexuality” in the post-Republican era, 2-Being entrapped by the dilemma of pious and indecisive on the Westernization reforms families versus being “Westernized civilized individual.” To escape the trap and in the name of being liberalized, she committed a casual suicide. And she went to bed to die to obtain the happiness she could never get” (Erten, 2004, s. 113).

The desire to die which has been prioritized in the thematic fiction of the novel “is the result of losing the life struggle (Eronat, 2004, p. 60).

It both includes the escape necessary for its escape and an act of revenge from society, which is prioritized. That desire shows us an undesirable dreadful end. While the protagonist is willful toward death, she is at war as the following sentences reveal:

“Death sometimes does not come that quickly. We must war against death. That is why I do not laugh when it is the most suitable time. I had never thought that I should have warred against death when to go to bed to die” (Ağaoğlu, 2015, s. 18).

Another thematic element is considered within the novel, alienation progresses to the intensity of the cultural conflicts available in each character. Alienation, which stems from not being able to adapt to society, is available in the family and friend circles of our heroes and heroines. When Aylin's comparison between her foreign friend Alain and Aydın is considered, how apparent cultural conflict is observable even within a friendship relationship.

"Then he kissed Aylin. Certainly, he could have. Anyhow they came to a park together. They could kiss each other. That was what was necessary. However, something was missing that night. Something killing was missing. Something that would not have been completed. Even if everything had gone upside down, Aydın could not have forgotten that he was next to a woman. He could not have thought that what was next to him as a human being would be a human being among others..." (Ağaoğlu, 2015, s. 298-299).

When Aysel and her friends could not find the attitudes and conduct to adapt to the cultural change in their surroundings, they were alienated and isolated from both themselves and their surroundings.

"Modern and innovationist person has been compelled to be accepted by his contemporaries" in the living conditions imposed by modernity (Eronat, 2004, p. 64). Derya Şenol explains the concept of alienation from the opinions of a variety of thinkers in her dissertation named "The Alienated Individual in Adalet Ağaoğlu's 'Confined Times'" and interprets Erich Fromm's opinion as "According to Fromm, alienation is a disease that modern man experiences as a result of the capitalist system." Şenol cites Yıldız Ecevit's article as "The history of man's civilization is one sense the history of his alienation to both himself and to the values he preserves within his 'essences'" (Şenol, 2009, p. 6). Though the concept of alienation displays its negative features, there are a good many thinkers who defend that it has a positive side that develops man. It is seen that the transformation of a man is a requisite for his re-birth. It is put forward in the study that though Aysel cannot find full answers for those transformations, she faces them. The protagonist tries to progress by way of both flat and zigzag movements as life necessitates them. Henceforth, by way of her efforts, she returns to her life, which brings an end to the novel. As a result, the author Adalet Ağaoğlu mirrors the Republican era through the psychological and bodily movements of the people of the age in her work, *To Go Bed to Die*, which has been inquired about in this study on both modernization and individual planes. It has been observed that the protagonist and her classmates, as the representations of the Republican ideology, have distanced themselves from their own identities

while they fulfill the responsibilities they have undertaken. Each of the heroes and heroines struggles to survive by refusing the tradition. However, meaningless interrogations which they cannot transform into life practice and consecutive alienation/isolation do not leave them.

4. Conclusion

It is impossible to conceive how womanhood and manhood have been perceived and how that perception has been reflected in literary works in any social period independently from the mainstream ideological tendencies of the age. Henceforth, it is very difficult to understand the representation of womanhood and manhood by focusing on certain literary works from the Ottoman modernization so far. At the same time, the social tendencies of the age when the work was written and the mind of the author within the context of such tendencies must be focused on.

Ottoman modernization was based on both Westernization concerns and concerns for preserving their traditions and values. That perception of modernization brought about a woman character that was idealized in both modern and traditionalist typologies. Such conservative modernity continued until the first decades of the Republican age when a secular orientation was prioritized.

However, that woman typology was transformed after the 1960s when both socialist movements subjectified large masses of people, thereby an open social reckoning on the tradition, and feminist movements refused the traditional preconceptions of sexuality. In later literary works, the woman image does not assimilate any traditional values, and it hangs over freedom and self-seeking, and the image becomes the mainstream woman typology.

In the conclusion, the women's representation in literary works in two different periods of the Ottoman-Turkish modernization could be understood by making interpretations of both the general social milieu and tendencies and the mentality structure of the author shaped likewise.

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL STATUS OF WOMEN AND THEIR LOCUS IN WORKING LIFE IN TURKEY

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1. Introduction

The “economic, social, political, and legal” dimensions of development are significant as a whole. In holistic approaches to development, the social and working-life status of women has been associated with the social dimension of development. The status of women in society in all societies from the past and so far, and their locus in working life is an area of research with all its diverse dimensions. That study assumes that “there is a strong relationship” between “the level of socioeconomic development of any country and the locus of women in society.” Moving from the assumption onwards, “the social status of women and their locus in working life in Turkey” will have been interrogated within social development.

Along with the Re-Organization Decree proclaimed in the late periods of the Ottoman Empire, the status of women in society, within the understanding of modernization, has stridden into a process of positive development in harmony with the re-structuring in social, political, and cultural domains. Various attempts were made to form a legal infrastructure concerning the strengthening of the social status of women by upper-class women of the age. ¹In Ottoman

¹ The first attempt at women’s rights in the Ottoman period was made by Fatma AliyeTopuz (1862-1936), daughter of Ahmad Cevded Pasha, known as the first Turkish woman author in the year 1891. Fatma AliyeTopuz was accepted to be a prominent figure of the movement which defends women’s rights. The main topic of the women’s movement of the age in which Fatma AliyeTopuz also stands is primarily the “education of women” (Mardin, 2018, p. 33).

social structure, women are not foregrounded in economic life, they were not recorded in censuses as they did not have conscription; they were recruited in some industries such as textile manufacturing, and carpet weaving with low wages. The controversies about women's having equal rights with men were foregrounded more with Constitution promulgated along with the Second Constitutional Government established in 1908. New arrangements for women's participation in the public zone started along with the Second Constitutional Government (Ahmad, 2015, p. 105).

Despite the reforms realized in the Ottoman Empire structure in social and economic domains with the effect of the Euro-centered approaches, relevant changes for women's rights at the optimum level could not be made. The status of women was interpreted and some accomplishments in limited scope were attained within the framework of conventional patriarchal understanding concerning women. Studies concerning women in the late Ottoman period were conducted in a limited scope and on some subjects in particular. For instance, the matter of women's benefiting from the right of access to education was associated with becoming "a good wife and a good mother" context. Furthermore, the locus of women in a public zone was associated with the social class to which women belonged. Working life was associated with a "public zone" which was supposed to belong to men, and family life was associated with a "private zone" which was supposed to belong to women. Most women were located in a "private zone" being excluded from a public zone. In the use of some basic rights, women whose socioeconomic levels were more advantaged than women at lower socioeconomic levels. With all those considerations, the status of women in Ottoman society was improved partially (Mardin, 2018, p. 69). Since the late periods of the Ottoman era, there has been a positive change in the social statuses of urban middle and upper-class women. Young Turks fostered the participation of women in social life. A process when middle and upper-class women became more visible along with their husbands in various domains of social life has started. A variety of attempts commenced under the leadership of the Unionists to improve and spread women's rights. Strides to make women benefit from educational and social opportunities more were taken by the Unionists. "Compulsory primary education for women" since 1913 was a significant step in the educational domain. Amendments for women in terms of "marriage and divorce" in the year 1917 can be examples of the endeavor for the improvement of civil rights (Ahmad, 2015, p. 107) (Zürcher, 2015, p. 186).

Upon the example of Industrial Schools for Girls, the reforms in the Ottoman Empire structure and practices that were directed toward the participation of women in the workforce have positively affected women's participation in public life and their social transformation. The social transformation has continued to be shaped for the good of women by opening Institute for Girls following the Industrial School for Girls. Institutes for Girls have been qualified as "the corporeal form of the discourse of the state built upon the ideas of Ziya Gökalp combining Western civilization and national culture." A synthesis between Western civilization and local culture was aimed at being achieved by way of Institutes for Girls (Akşit, 2005: 110-143). The mission of building a bridge between the traditional cultural structure and modern urban culture since the early Republican period was undertaken by women in the example of Institutes for Girls. Women have been assigned important missions in transforming society within the context of the targets of "Modernization, and Westernization." Though Institutes for Girls were the institutions where traditional gender roles were instructed, they had important functions in working life.

During the process of the Turkish Independence War, women replaced men who were at war or became martyrs in the business branches where there was a shortage of labor. Women's participation in working life has intensified with the Republican era. The Republic has provided significant opportunities to acquire roles in the force of revolution in fortifying the status of women in business life and their participation in society in a more egalitarian way.

Within the study, the changes that have occurred in the status of women while women's participation in social and economic life more actively has been reached as a goal will have been studied holistically. The effects of social, political, and economic changes that occurred in the Republican era will have been studied within the framework of gender equality policies. Women's status in working life and gender equality policies practiced will have been analyzed with a sociological perspective by way of relevant literature and statistical data.

2. The Social Status of Women in the Republican Era

Studying modernization efforts holistically depends on inquiring about the developments in "the Reorganization, Reform, Constitutional Government, and Republican" eras and the relationships between them within historical continuity. It could be said that the history of modernization of Turkey includes both "continuity" of history and "discontinuity" out of its revolutionary characters. The early Republican period has similarities with the general characteristics of

the Ottoman social structure. For instance, the ruling staff mostly consists of “military or civil bureaucrats. Within the context, it is possible to talk of a social structure with bureaucratic tutelage” (Cem, 2017, p. 299).

The Republican elite has tried to make a synthesis between the past in the historical background and the values in the contemporary world. A variety of legal arrangements have been made to strengthen the social status of women and their more active participation in working and public life by the Republican elite. Though the new legal arrangements have been qualified as a break in political, social, and economic domains from the Ottoman structure in part (Ahmad, 2015, p. 11), they have also included traces of the past.

In Turkey, there is a process of a discrepancy between the transformations and changes between Oriental and Occidental civilizations with the arguments of modernity. It is possible to highlight different approaches concerning the issue. Within the two-century historical process from the Ottoman era to the Republican era, Western culture and institutions have been attempted to activate. Within the historical foundation of Western civilization stands the influences of “Antique Greece, Rome, and Christianity.” “The primary target of Western civilization is material wealth; its motor force is avarice.” The sense of human beings with avarice available in the spirit of capitalism is considered a repercussion of Western civilization. Within the context, an understanding that “legitimizes to use every possible way to attain a goal,” which prioritizes material interest and which disregards humanitarian values is one acceptable way in Western civilization. In spite of diverse viewpoints and practices, the common rationale of Republican governments has been “Westernization” (Cem, 2017, pp. 270-274) (Turhan, 1967, p. 13). The primary target in the efforts of Westernization in the Republican era is to “transform the society into contemporary civilization level.” All legal and institutional arrangements under the title of “modernization” have been designed from a progressive standpoint to “reach the Western level” (Köker, 1995, p. 132).

Significant strides have been made in women’s rights within the framework of the legal arrangements which have been made throughout the Republican era. The “Republic” has situated women as free and equal citizens before the law. Kemalism, the ideology of the Republic, is a project of modernism that endeavors to liberate women. The major part of the rights which women have acquired can be considered as a political preference of the Republic. Adoption and incorporation of the principles of “republicanism, populism, nationalism, nationalism, statism and revolutionism,” principles of Atatürk in short, have

contributed to strengthen the social status of women. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk acted with a sense of leadership that believes in the necessity of women's active participation in social, economic, and political life along with the basic principles he wanted to practice within the process of founding Turkey as a modern state. The "principle of secularism" can be given as an example of strengthening the social status of women by allowing women to participate in the public zone (Kaya, 2013, p. 104). With the adoption of the Turkish Civil Code (1926), women's equal rights with men before the law has been attained. Another example of strengthening the status of women is the Unification of Education Law (1924). With the Unification of Education Law education and instruction have been classified under one framework and girl students have been enabled to benefit from all educational processes without being exposed to separatism. 87th Article of the 1924 Constitution has provided free compulsory primary education for all children without making sexual discrimination.

Women have participated in working life more since the 1930's. The increase in the demand for women's labor force with the process of industrialization has become an opportunity for women. A process that considers women as part of the labor force and which liberated them has started. With the start of women's taking part in big industrial institutions who had taken part in agriculture as labor force, demands for women's freedom have been foregrounded. Within the process, a positive change in the political and social status of women has occurred. Having suffrage in 1934 has been considered to be an outcome of that process. Women's participation in working life with industrialization and urbanization has fastened the transformation into a nuclear family structure from the traditional family structure at the same time (Ahmad, 2015, pp. 109-110).

The issue of equalizing women with men in terms of politics since the early Republican period is a significant development. However, the disadvantaged situation in social and economic domains for women has continued. In the early Republican era, there was a distinction between urban and rural women in practicing basic rights. The attempts and legal arrangements could not be practiced to a large extent as the rural population was the majority and the rural region resisted the change.

The majority of women in working life in Turkey following 1980's has worked as wageless family laborer in agricultural sector. Due to low level of education, the majority of women has lived a process of having to work in non-qualified low jobs (Tekeli, 1988, p. 134). Women's having a qualified a high-wage career is associated with her having a qualified education. Women

working in unqualified and low-wage jobs can be considered as an element that fortifies their dependence on men.

Governments in Turkey have worked on some reforms to develop women's rights within the context of the process of candidacy for the European Union since 1999. The Republic of Turkey has become a partner in international treaties to develop and protect basic human rights and made promises. Within the framework of those treaties, legal arrangements which provide equality between women and men, and egalitarian policies have been practiced. Examples such as "changing the concept of head of the family, attaining equal rights between the spouses in family, discarding the requirement of husband's permission for the wife's work" have been considered as positive strides in recent times. Despite such positive developments in Turkey, a developmental level that fulfills the expectations concerning equality between women and men could not be reached. Despite the legal arrangements which prioritize gender equality, women have been seen not to take part in the labor market adequately (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018, p. 59) (Tokol, 2013, p. 455).

3. The Problems which Women Encounter in Working Life

Working culture is defined as "values, attitudes and conducts concerning working in society." The social structure in which an individual is situated shapes working culture (Zencirkıran & Baştürk, 2021, p. 133). The definitions concerning working culture include different meanings for "agrarian, industrial, and post-industrial" societies.

The benefits of working for human life without making the distinction between women and men have been revealed by scientific studies. These benefits are maintaining human life, having social status, having a sense of belongingness, relieving himself/herself psychologically, improving social abilities, and generating meaning for his/her life and self-actualization (Ören, 2014, p. 21). One of the reasons why women are subjected to injustice is that there is labor inequality based on gender. As a repercussion of the gap of labor based on gender, the labor of women is devalued and their dependence on men is strengthened (Sungur, 2012, p. 158).

Along with the industrialization and urbanization process on a global scale, there has been a significant increase in women's participation in working life as a result of the factors such as the "spread of division of labor on a wider scale, low wages in the real sense, transformation of family structure, and change of

conception concerning social values.” Though the process of capitalization has enabled women to participate in working life in later periods, working poor women has become part of the agenda, and inequality of distribution of income between sexes has increased. According to statistical data, 70 % of the poor consist of women, and the “feminization of poverty” has been a phenomenon in both developed and developing countries. Furthermore, women have been subjected to discrimination in different spheres of working life, have suffered from malnutrition, led unhealthy lives, and subjected to physical and psychological violence. As a result, the problems which women face lead to more destructive affective effects on women (Nussbaum, 2000, p. 1). Within this framework, it is seen that there is a strong correlation between the working life of women and their health (Özçelik Adak, 2015, p. 116)

The spread of the capitalist production process has gathered relevant conditions which enabled women to participate in working life more, and has deconstructed the definitions concerning “family and sex.” Division of labor based on gender in working life shaped in accordance with traditional social values has perpetuated within the process of modern capitalist production. However, there has been no structural change in the distribution of social status and roles concerning women and men historically. In modern capitalist production process, men have been coded as “productive labor and head of the household,” whereas women have been coded as “unproductive labor and housewife.” “Productive labor is held outside house at work; whereas unproductive labor is held at house.” A process which institutionalizes sexist standpoint has been experienced (Wallerstein, 2012, pp. 25-26). Critical approaches concerning gender policies which cause the perpetuation of the reproduction of traditional women roles. have been asserted Critical approaches concerning the discourses about the struggles for rights against sexual discrimination have been developed.

According to the Development Department Special Expertise Commission report, basic problems concerning the employment of women in Turkey can be summarized as follows:

“Women’s low level of participation of workforce and employment; high level of unemployment in women; low level of women employment in qualified vocations; inability of women to use technology efficiently; women’s earning less income than men in similar jobs; unawareness of employees about gender equality; inexistence of equality unit in government institutions; inability to conduct relevant monitoring and evaluation of the projects held for the

employment of women; inefficiency of the cooperation between institutions concerning equality of women and men; insufficiency of the data concerning women's poverty and deprivation; incompatibility of working hours and the hours of nursery schools and schools; problems concerning access to finance; the invisibility of women's labor in agriculture; economic violence against women; insufficiency of the coordination with non-governmental organizations (NGO's); insufficiency of fieldwork concerning women" (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018, pp. 70-72).

It could be said that relevant studies conducted and reports written show that the problems faced by women in working life in Turkey are many more than those faced by men. The major problems faced by women in Turkey in relation to capitalist production and the traditional patriarchal structure of the soil. Major problems encountered by women in working life can be mentioned as "unemployment, deprivation from good-quality education," "inexperience of not having relevant proficient experience of the workforce, being subject to both vocational and career discrimination, deciding for the jobs according to gender, stereotypes, not having the identical wage for the same job, taking part in the underground economy, working without social security, being subject to inequality in the process of utilizing social rights, experiencing glass roof syndrome and working in two-shift work (Sungur, 2012, p. 167). Within this framework, it is beneficial to explain the concepts "informal employment, division of labor based on gender, two-shift work," which are the basic problems women encounter in working life.

3.1. Informal Employment

Informal employment is an important problem for both developed and developing countries. The rate of informal employment is associated with the level of socio-economic development of countries, and it is accepted as a basic problem, especially in developing countries on the world average. The rate of women in informal employment is higher than that of men. Plus, the rate of women who are informally employed is more than half of the total women employed (ILO, 2012, p. 22).

Informal employment, which is one of the repercussions of women not taking part in the workforce, is also associated with women's level of education. The practices based on gender discrimination in education constitute a factor that hinders women's taking part in working life in an equal way. Women who

are deprived of education or who have not received education are seen to be victims in using basic rights, in family relations, in business life, and in short in all domains of life, and they are seen to be exposed to more discriminatory practices. The higher educational level one has the higher level of participation in labor force one attains without making any distinction between women and men (Esping-Anderson, 2011, p. 37). However, when educational indicators are considered, it is seen that the start of women's increasing level of benefiting from educational services in recent years has a positive impact on their taking part in formal and qualified labor market. Within the context, it can be said that education is a basic factor that hinders gender discrimination.

As a result of informal employment, women cannot benefit from educational possibilities as much as they need, and they have to work in low-quality jobs with no social security. Informal employment stems from a variety of reasons such as "urban sprawl, high level of population growth, irregular migration, high inflation, and high unemployment, the imbalance between regions, economic crisis, high taxes, illiteracy, and global problems." Informal employment has negative repercussions on economic structure. The existence of informal employment in any society is a hindrance to providing public services for the disadvantaged sectors of society such as "women, the handicapped, elderly citizens, and criminals" within social state policies (Tokol, 2013, p. 452).

"Informal employment" is accepted to be one of the fundamental problems for the Turkish economy. The rate of participation in the recorded labor force of women in Turkey is quite low. According to the results of research data provided by institutions such as the Turkish Statistical Association and the like, men in Turkey have two times more access to jobs with tenure (including social security) than women (Durmaz Bodur, 2020, p. 139).

Turkey is a developing country where there is high unemployment due to domestic and international reasons. The elements such as "high population growth, improper urbanization process, technology-based production growth, widespread automation, global and local economic crises, increase in temporary jobs, companies' downsizing tendency to promote profitability, increasing number of intermediaries, and business cycles" are counted as the major causes of unemployment (Zencirkıran & Baştürk, 2021, p. 224).

3.2. Division of Labor Based on Gender

One of the major causes, why women suffer from inequality, is they are exposed to inequality in working life due to their sexual difference. Inequalities based

on sex have been experienced throughout all periods of human history, and women have been exposed to discrimination in varying forms. A process in which women's labor has been colonized more than before has been lived as a result of gender-based inequalities in working life along with the capitalist production process. Gender-based inequalities increase the authority of men over women and negatively affect the social position of women (Sungur, 2012, p. 158). Women and women's labor has been devalued within the capitalist production process with sexist approaches. Sexism which stems from the superior position of men over women has been considered one of the difficult problems which the capitalist system produces, which is hard to solve (Wallerstein, 2012, p. 89).

It is seen that women in working life in Turkey are intensive in certain vocational domains such as "textiles, food, secretary services, teaching, and nursing services," which are thought to be compatible with the traditional gender roles. Women orient towards branches of vocation which do not require any qualification, and with lower wages than men. Women's taking place in working life with low wages in less qualified positions are considered to be gender-based inequality. Though women are placed in some sectors in working life quantitatively more, they are not able to be placed sufficiently in jobs which require higher quality. The mentioned status quo causes the perpetuation, and fortification of gender based inequalities. It is considered to be a projection of sexist standpoint to associate low quality careers and jobs with women, and to associate higher quality and respected careers and jobs with men. Though women do the same or similar jobs, they are paid fewer wages than men, and hindrances before working life for women to have higher positions are concrete examples for the inequality in working life.

3.3. Double Shift Work

Due to the values accepted viable in traditional societies, some jobs done by women are not accepted as an economic activity. A case in which women's labor has been colonized and secondary roles have been assigned for women is observable in households, and various domains of economic life (Aslan, 2021, s. 92). Women's working in informal and low-waged jobs in working life strengthens their poverty. Women, who are called the working poor, spend most of their wages on food and basic needs. Working women have to do the housework at the same time. Women, whose physical, psychological, and social burdens of work increase, are affected negatively in terms of their health. As

a human being, the woman faces psychological barriers such as “glass ceiling syndrome” instead of realizing herself (Pasolina & Leslie, 1995, p. 61).

It is seen that women work more than men due to the features of traditional family institution has and the conditions in working life in Turkey. Women who work in a certain job have to work in “double shift” at home due to her “responsibilities” concerning housework and children having returned home from work. The more children women have the more time they spend for housework (Tekeli, 1988, p. 203). Women who have to make “double shift work” suffer from “burn-out syndrome.” Imposing housework on women and their being considered as wageless labor is an element that strengthens women’s dependence on men.

4. Statistical Data concerning Women in Working Life

According to statistical data, the rate of women’s participation in workforce in Turkey is lower than those in developing countries. When the unemployment data provided by the Turkish Statistical Association (TÜİK for short in Turkish) are considered, the unemployment rate in Turkey is 11,3 %, the rate for men is 9,7 %, and that for women is 14,4 %. According to April 2022 data provided by TÜİK, participation in work force for men is 71,6 % and that for women is 34,9 %.

Table 1: The Rates of Participation in Work Force and Employment for Women in Turkey

Years	The Rate for Participation in Work force (%)	Employment Rate (%)
1990	34	31
2000	27	25
2005	23	20
2010	28	24
2016	32	28
2020	31	26

Reference: TÜİK, Research for Household Workforce

As the data provided by the table above show, the rate of women’s participation in labor force in Turkey is low and informal employment problem continues. One of the most significant topics here is the elements which hinder women’s

participation in work force must be highlighted. When Turkey is compared with the data in Organization for Economic, Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in terms of women's (52 %) participation in workforce 52 %, the rate of women's participation is low (Kalkınma Bakanlığı, 2018, p. 50) .

There are gender-based differences between rural and urban regions in Turkey. According to statistical data, it is seen that women are exposed to unemployment in urban areas more. Furthermore, it is controversial whether those figures reflect the factuality. Those who work in informal sectors are not recorded in the data concerning unemployment. Thereby, the viability of the relevant data is controversial. Though it is difficult to attain the figures of unemployment exactly, men's participation in work force is two times more than that of women. Henceforth, inequalities based on gender perpetuates in accordance with data provided by TÜİK. According to the "2022 Global Gender Inequality Report" prepared by World Economic Forum, Turkey ranks 124th among 146 countries on the average of all indicators. According to the data provided by "2022 Global Inequality Report," Turkey ranks 134th in the "participation in economic life and opportunity equality," ranks 101st in participation in education, ranks 99th in "health and average life, and ranks 112th in "participation in politics" (WEF, 2022, p. 343-344).

According to the data concerning workforce and employment provided by TÜİK, women and men take part in the services sector more than others. Women work in jobs compatible with their traditional gender roles in the services sector. Women work in the "education, health, textiles, and food" fields mostly in the services sector. It is seen that women take part in employment in three different ways:

"Urban women who work in agricultural sector intensively as a wageless family worker; uneducated or poorly educated lower-middle-class women who are employed in low-wage, labor-intensive, and informal jobs, and middle or higher-educated upper-middle class women having careers" (İlkkaracan, 1998, p. 4).

5. Conclusion

As a result of the gender equality policies practiced in the history of the Republic of Turkey, the social status of women has been strengthened, and significant improvements are made. Change and transformation in women's rights have been attained in social life as a result of industrialization, urbanization, and

globalization processes. Women's increasing role especially in working life has positively influenced social transformation. However, it seems to be difficult to assert that the social status of women is in a desirable level. As a consequence of the capitalist way of production, the problem that women cannot obtain the acquired income for their labor exactly perpetuates. The high gap between sexes in terms of participation in the workforce is a hot issue for social development. It is seen as a necessity that strengthening their active participation in social and economic life, and protecting women's rights within the framework of universal human rights results in the development of society, and maintaining social justice. Within this framework, developing policies in relation to strengthening women's social status, improving the conditions in working life, and eliminating the problems in practice are vitally important. The demands concerning women's rights must be taken seriously to maintain social development, gender equality, and justice for the distribution of income, and efforts in this direction must continue. A rights-based approach must be adopted by all sectors of society to eliminate discriminationist approaches.

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CHAPTER VI

WOMEN IN THE WESTERNIZATION PROCESS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

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1. Introduction

The distinction between men and women in societies is one of the most important social problems today as it was in the past. Discrimination against women has been widespread in every period of history. Although it is not the same in every society, it has become a tradition to discriminate between children since their birth (Telliöđlu; 2016:212). It is seen that this situation also exists in societies in which pre-Islamic Turks were in communication. For example, it is stated in the sources that the Chinese do not even see the need to give names to their newly born daughters, and they address them by numbers. Again, among Indians living in a geography close to the Turks, it is understood from research that the father has to live under the auspices of his brother if there is no father, since girls are considered weak in character (Çağatay, 1989: 135; Telliöđlu, 2016: 212). When we look at the Turks neighboring these countries, it is known that there is not much discrimination between men and women, and that girls and women are treated with respect in Turkish society.

1.1. *Women in Ancient Turks*

Studies show that women in the old Turkish states are respected, have an important position and can act side by side with their men. During the said period, Turkish women worked with men in every field (housework, state affairs, fields, vineyards, gardens, markets), had a say in every issue, and

took part in assemblies. There was no “purdah” between men and women (Doğramacı, 1993:1). As it is seen, women in Turkic states were equal to men in terms of social position until they encountered Middle East Culture (Çukurova, 2007: 51).

Turkish thinker Ziya Gökalp, who stated that the old Turks were democrats and feminists, stated that in the state meetings held on every subject, Turkish queens also took place besides the Turkish khans, that the orders should start with the words “the Khan and the Queen commands...”, and in the event that the queen is not mentioned in the commandment, the order is not considered legitimate. He additionally stated that they did not adhere to any rules regarding the veiling of women, that the woman took part in all kinds of activities (festivals, congresses, religious ceremonies, war and peace meetings) alongside the khan, and that marriages among Turks were monogamous. Emel Doğramacı also spoke of monogamy in Turks, with exceptions. (Gökalp, 2005: 155-156; Doğramacı, 1993:1).

Jean Paul Roux also stated in his book titled “Türklerin Tarihi” that women had a great deal of freedom in the old Turks and when they took on special duties, they did everything that men could do. So much so that Roux mentions in his aforementioned work that there were periods when Turkish women rode horses, participated in the hunt, fought, held shamanic rituals, and even held high positions in the state. Roux also drew attention to the fact that “*both genders called men and women*” in Turks are completely equal to each other and there is never any gender discrimination between them (Roux, 2007:138).

While the famous traveler Ibn Batuta was describing his trips to Turkish countries (Anatolia and Central Asia), he stated that in the Turkish provinces he went to, Turkish women were comfortable with men, he talked to women wherever he went, and that Turkish women traveled without wearing a veil¹ (Afetinan: 1982:50).

Batuta also stated that the customs and traditions of Turkish women are different from other Muslim tribes. Batuta stated that the social situation of Turkish women in the 14th century was in a mentality that was far from bigotry. The famous traveler stated in his memoirs that the names of the women he met and chatted with in Anatolia were of Turkish origin and that they roamed freely with horses and cars (Afetinan, 1982:55).

These examples given to us show that Gülден Ertuğrul’s words, “...*The freedom and rights given to Turkish women are nothing but a return to the true*

¹ Moreover, Roux mentioned that Turks (without specifying gender) usually wear fur and woolen clothes and that there are people who leave their hair open (Roux, 2007:138).

spirit of their race...” when women were given rights in the Early Republican Period were completely true (Ertuğrul, 1991:55).

However, Turks who migrated to different geographies could not remain indifferent to the cultures they encountered. For example, although the Seljuks were of Turkish origin, when they came to Anatolia after establishing a political hegemony in Iran, they were under the influence of Persian on the one hand, and Arabic because they were Muslims. So much so that for a while the official language was Persian and the language of science was Arabic. Under these conditions, Turkish mothers ensured that Turkish, the mother tongue of Turks, was spoken in the family environment, taught to newborn children, kept them alive and passed on to future generations. This process continued until Karamanoğlu Mehmet Bey (1277) declared Turkish the official language (Afetinan 1982:38).

It is possible to see in the epics that the Turks were influenced by the geographies they went to. In Dede Korkut epics, family unions founded on love and respect are mentioned. For example, marriage with one woman is essential. Even if the woman does not have children, she does not seem to think about a second marriage. It is understood from Oğuzname that *“the right of mother is accepted as the right of God”*, but women who cannot become mothers are looked down upon (Afetinan; 1982:55-56). However, it is seen that the new cultures encountered in the process of accepting Islam negatively affect the position of Turkish women and Turkish girls, render them worthless and cut them off from social life. It is understood that this process has been gradually entered.

This situation appears with the contradictory words in Kutadgu Bilig. In the work, the words son and daughter are used side by side while Ay-Toldi is giving advice to his son Ögdülmiş. *“Son-daughter is the light of the seeing eye in reality.”* shows that they do not know or make any gender discrimination (Tellioglu; 2016:212). However, in the same work, it is advised to the men who were to get married in the following way: *“.....Take a housewife who has not been touched by anyone else, whose face has not been seen by anyone else, who is of lower class than you...”*. For the girls to be born, he wished, *“...If the girl is not born, if she is born, it will be better if she does not live...”*. These two instances contradict one another (Afetinan, 1982:36). From this contradictory situation, it can be concluded that the view of women and girls is changing in Turkish societies, which have changed the geography they live in.

According to the principles of *“Zoroastrian”*, the ancient religion of Iranians with whom Turks interact, woman is the symbol of evil and pollution. Here, the deity representing all evil is always shown as a woman. With this

thought, women have been deprived of every right (Afetinan, 1982:33). The worst examples can be seen in the Arabs, one of the societies that the Turks encountered and were heavily influenced by. So much so that it is a shameful situation for the child born to the Arabs to be a girl. So much so that it is a known fact that newborn girls were buried alive with this shame (Çağatay, 1989: 135). Turks also encountered and interacted with Western culture. According to the belief adopted by the old Western societies, it is known that “*women are despised because they cause the man to be expelled from heaven*”. Starting from the Seljuk period, the Turks also encountered Byzantium and were influenced by their culture, especially the palace life (Kurnaz, 1992:12-13). The fact that Sultan Abdulhamid II, one of the Ottoman sultans, made an assessment of Muslim women wearing a chador as “*they almost resembled Christian women wearing a mourning dress*” also supports that he was influenced by Byzantine culture (Tuğlacı, 1984: 69).

Contrary to the approach to women and girls in Arab culture, in the religious principles of Islam and in the words of the Prophet Muhammad himself, it is commanded to respect the rights of women and especially Mother. To support this, “*Women constitute half of the society.*”, “*A person who respects the rights of his wife is a good Muslim.*”, “*Heaven is under the feet of mothers.*” sayings show the value Islam gives to women. The adoption of these words as a belief in the Arab jahiliyyah period, when girls were buried alive, has a special importance. We can say that the religion of Islam, which developed and spread in a geography where the customs and traditions of Arabs and Iranians were influential, made women undeniable rights (Afetinan, 1982:33-34).

As a result of the influence of the cultures encountered, some changes have begun to occur in the life of Turkish women. Along with the adopted Islamic Law (x . century), with the influence of Iranian, Arab and Byzantine culture, it is seen that Turkish women lost their important positions and moved away from social life. However, until the 15th century, this situation was not very effective. In this period, the sultan’s wives were able to maintain their power in the military, administrative and political fields by taking the title “Terken”. For example, in the Great Seljuk period, the wives of the sultans with the title of “Terken” took the administration of the provinces called yurtluk and ruled this place with their treasury, divan organization and army. They could also make administrative interventions based on their political power (Turan, 1969:240-241; Kaplan, 1998:1). In the Turkish States established after the Great Seljuk State, women who took the title of “Terken” or were the regents of their

children continued to take part in the state administration. For example, in the Anatolian Seljuk State, when Kılıç Arslan I was martyred in 1107, the Konya Seljuk throne remained empty for a while. At that time, Tuğrul Arslan, the youngest son of the Sultan, was in Malatya with his mother. Tugrul Arslan was declared sultan by his mother and thus ruled on behalf of his youngest son. She took her place in history as a woman who increased the power of the state and expanded its borders with the political activities she carried out and the wars she waged through Atabey, whom she appointed to her son (Afetinan, 1982:41). It is possible to see the respected place that Turkish women have in the society in the works they inherited (such as foundations, hospitals, libraries) in Anatolia (Doğramacı, 1993:1; Afetan, 1982:38).

1.2. Women in the Ottoman Empire Before the Tanzimat Period

The Ottoman Empire (x III-xx), which dominated three continents, adopted theocratic state order in time with the effect of the caliphate powers. So much so that especially women living in big cities gradually lost their rights according to Turkish customs. This is owing to the fact that, in big cities, especially in Istanbul, and in the state administration, Iran and Byzantium were influenced by. According to the researches, in the foundation years of the state, although limited, women were included in social life due to the rights provided by the religion of Islam to women.² However, this situation has disappeared over time, and women have been tried to be accustomed to a completely different life order in cities. Persian and Byzantine harems set an example in this. As a result of the interaction with the cultures that the Ottomans found in it, the palace was divided into two parts as harem and selamlık. This way of life became widespread as the lords and viziers began to imitate it in their mansions. Although the religion of Islam allows marriage with multiple wives, it has brought rules such as “*providing justice between spouses*”. Despite this, harem and polygamy were limited to a certain group. When we look at the Turkish nation in general, it is seen that the culture of monogamous marriage continues (Afetinan, 1982:59). Turkish women living in rural areas (outside the big cities)

² Contrary to Middle Eastern culture, it is seen that women participate in social and political life in Islam. This can be seen in the fact that The Prophet’s wives had participated in wars. There is a narrative that a women’s community was formed for the first time in this period to care for and help patients. It is known that in some of the Muslim countries, women were leaders. Furthermore, it can be observed that in Islam, there are clear statements about women’s participation in the social and political life (Kurnaz 1992:11).

continued to contribute to production by working in the fields and to take part in social life side by side with men in village conditions. In the Ottoman Empire, the majority of the population (around 80%) lived in the countryside (villages). In this case, we can say that the majority of Turkish women live side by side with their men and the culture of monogamous marriage is continued (Erkmen, 2022: 373; Afetan, 1982:59; Kurnaz, 1992:13). However, the women of the Turkmen rulers and gentlemen, who played an active role in the founding years of the Ottoman Empire, remained in the background with the adoption of the palace life. Despite this negativity, the women of the palace participated in the administration with the influence they established on the sultans from the harem. Starting from the Kanuni period, the number of these women and their political power increased. Thus, a process called “*women’s reign*” was experienced in the Ottoman Empire. So much so that the state was harmed by the interference of the women of the palace with the state administration and their unconscious attempts (Kaplan, 1998:2-3).

Before the Tanzimat, Ottoman women living in big cities (outside the palace) could hardly participate in social and political life, and their occupations were limited to housework, handicrafts and childcare. Under these conditions, the home culture of Turkish families was shaped in the city dwellings (harem and selamlık). The women of the palace and the women of the city and the nobles formed the consumer segment of the society. During the Tanzimat Period, discussions were started against the life of urban women in these conditions. These discussions gained speed during the Second Constitutional Era. With these developments, positive developments were experienced for women, albeit slightly, and there was a reaction against this situation (Kaplan: 19998: 5; Afetinan, 1982: 62). In this study, the developments in the legal rights of Turkish women, participation in the political field, clothing, place in the social field, education and working life in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat and Constitutional Monarchy periods were investigated.

2. Developments in Women’s Life during Tanzimat and Constitutional Monarchy Periods

2.1. Legal Field and Women

The fact that women do not have equal rights with men is a universal situation. It is seen that the struggle for women to be free individuals like men by eliminating this was started in the West and women gained rights with these struggles. It is a

well-known fact that, in the West, the developments with the Renaissance Reform movements and the Industrial Revolution affected the Ottoman administrators after a certain period of time, and the women's movements in these countries in the aforementioned period also mobilized Ottoman women. When we look at the Ottoman legal order in general, it is seen that Islamic law dominates, but the same legal rules are not applied in every place under the administration. In other words, the unity of law could not be achieved and this situation continued until the proclamation of the Tanzimat

Because, it is seen that “*customary law*” comes to the fore regarding land. As it is known, while Islamic law orders the inheritance of the deceased father to be divided as 1/3, this practice differs in land sharing (Barkan, 1940: 396). Studies show that different applications were made on this subject at different dates. So much so that, from the establishment of the State until the 1568s, when the person who owned the land in miri died, this land was inherited by the son. From this date on, the right to inherit this land, provided that the “deed fee” is paid, has also been granted to girls (Cin, 1979:54-55). The same law (1567) also ensured that the land left from the mother was given to the son in return for the payment of the “title deed” (Kurnaz, 1992: 51). The said law remained in force until April 1847 (1263). By making a new arrangement on this date, girls were given the right to own their father's land free of charge, just like boys. Again with this arrangement, it was ensured that the mother's land was transferred to girls and boys equally and free of charge (Cin, 1979: 58). Since there were deficiencies in the implementation of this law, which was accepted in April 1847, two more regulations were made on the law in December 1847 and February 1849 (Taş, 2016:14).

In the “*Land Code*”, which was put into effect in 1858 (1284) in order to regulate the land ownership, the rule of equal sharing of the land between girls and boys was introduced without seeking the “*residence condition*”. (“*Kanunname-i Land*”, 1.Tertip (Volume-i Evvel), Istanbul Matbaa-ı Amire, 1289; Cin, 1979:61; Çakır,2021:204). With the law of 1912 (1328), the situation of the widow in the distribution of inheritance was improved and equal inheritance rights were given to girls and boys (Kurnaz, 1992: 52).

The articles on the environment in Mecelle, which was prepared and put into effect between 1869-1876, have content that shows the place of “*women and households*” in society. Since the kitchen, wellhead and courtyards (Makar-ı Nisvan), which are defined as places belonging to women, are forbidden to be seen from other places; these prohibitions have been determined in articles and

it has become a legal obligation to make the said places not to be seen from the outside (Çakır, 2021: 204).

Considering the situation of women being able to testify in courts, according to Islamic law, the testimony of two women was considered equivalent to a man, while the testimony of women was not accepted in cases involving honor (such as adultery). It is known that this approach was also approached in the Ottoman Empire (Yiğit, 2001:86).

Regarding the punishment of adultery, men and women should be punished alike according to the Penal Code. However, it is understood that in practice it is not treated equally. For, according to the law, a man has the right to kill both of them if he catches his wife committing adultery with another man. If the woman who committed adultery escaped death, this time she would be sentenced to up to 2 years in prison. If a man was caught committing adultery, he was punished only with a fine. These applications show that while the Qur'an orders that the punishment be given equally to men and women in this crime, it shows that in an Islamic country, when it comes to equality between men and women, the orders are not followed and acts against women. This situation was discussed in the parliament during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period, and with an amendment made in the Penal Code in 1911, the provision of equal imprisonment for up to 2 years was introduced for women and men. However, it was accepted that the woman would be punished in any case, but the continuity of the crime would be sought in the punishment of the man. Therefore, full equality could not be achieved in this matter again (Çakır, 2021: 205; Kurnaz, 1996: 117).

“The Law of the Family (*Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesi*)”, adopted in 1917, is the first step of modern practices for marriage union. The law gave women some rights, albeit limited. However, due to the intense opposition, the decree could remain in force for a period of 2 years (Çakır, 2021:205). So much so that in the years when Istanbul was occupied, an application was made to the command of the occupation forces to abolish the law. So much so that in the years when Istanbul was occupied, an application was made to the command of the occupation forces to abolish the law. Non-Muslims were also dissatisfied with the decree because it interfered with community life. Therefore, it is seen that the annulment of the decree pleased them as well. The legal equality of women would only be achieved with the adoption of the Civil Code in 1926 (Kaplan, 1998:70; Aydın, 1998:314).

As in the whole world, one of the issues discussed in the Ottoman Empire is the “*concubine*” and therefore the “*slave*” issue. Efforts to abolish the slave

trade³ in the Ottoman Empire in the x Ix . It is understood that it started towards the middle of the century (in parallel with the anti-slavery movement seen in the world). On January 27, 1847 (9 Safar 1263), slave trade in the African continent was prohibited by an order written to the governor of Baghdad. However, from the letter sent by Mustafa Reşit Pasha to the Tripoli (Libya) governorship on 28 November 1849, it is understood that this was not implemented much. In this article, “*humane treatment of captives during the prisoner trade*” was demanded and it was stated that “*those who acted otherwise would be punished*” (Kurnaz, 1992: 53). During the Abdulmecid I period (dated 1857), and Abdülhamid II period (dated 1891), the edicts that were released are mostly concerned about the trade of black people as slaves. In the *Kanun-ı Esasi dated 1876 (1293)*, the provision that “*the Ottomans had personal freedom*” was included. With the edict of 1909, the buying and selling of slaves and concubines of Circassian origin, as well as black captives was prohibited during the reign of Mehmet Reşad (Çakır, 2021:205). Despite all this, the fact that even in the years 1915-1916 there were provisions made by the Şeyhülislam about slaves and concubines in Istanbul, it shows that these decisions or edicts were not fully followed (Kurnaz, 1992: 524). It is certain that the abolition of slavery or concubinage will not please those who trade this business. For this reason, in some places (Hijaz, Jeddah and Caucasia), rebellions were raised against prohibitions. Ultimately, the decisions taken on the abolition of concubinage remained on paper and were not put into practice. It is known that there were many concubines in the palace until the abolition of the sultanate in 1922. From the literary writings written years later, it is understood that this continues outside the palace. Concubine or slavery will be completely abolished by the Republic of Turkey (Çakır, 2021:205).

The situation of women marrying foreigners in the Ottoman Empire was indirectly mentioned in the 1869 Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Law. Here, it is stated that if her husband dies, a woman who marries a foreign man can become an Ottoman national within three years after the death. This provision shows that before the adoption of the law, it was forbidden for women to marry foreign nationals and that the married woman was removed from the Ottoman

3 Men who were taken captive in wars or bought for money were called slaves and women were called concubines. At that time, concubines and slaves could be bought and sold as goods. Concubine merchants were able to sell them for several times the price they received after passing them through a certain training process in subjects such as music, poetry, literature, reading the Qur’an, and housekeeping according to their abilities (Kurnaz, 1992:52-53).

nationality. This provision will only be abolished by the Republic of Turkey in 1928 (Osmanağaoğlu, 2003: 74; Kurnaz, 1992: 55).

When we look at the issue of women going abroad; While the debates on when women will go out on the streets in cities continue, one of the issues discussed in the Parliament is whether a woman can go abroad without the permission of her husband or not. While the First World War was in full swing, a proposal was made to the Assembly of Ayan that “*women should be able to go abroad for health and need reasons*” “on condition that *they cover themselves and for treatment purposes*”. However, in the parliament where women do not have the right to vote and be elected and men are dominant, this situation was strange and not accepted. Members of Parliament showed the strongest reaction to this proposal. According to Kaplan’s research, this decision was found to violate family rules (Kaplan, 1998:69-70; Tunaya, 1984:478).

When we look at the treatment of sick women, it is seen that there was a development in favor of women in a quarantine instruction published during the Tanzimat period. With the decree, it was requested that the necessary treatment be given to women regardless of what disease they caught (as is done to men, regardless of gender) (Taş, 2016:13). This development shows that women have equal rights with men in the treatment of epidemic diseases, so they did not have this right before.

2.2. Political Field

Politics in the broad sense is directed against the state (political authority). While it covers demand in many areas (such as education, law, economic life), it is used in the narrow sense of demanding political rights (Çakır, 2021: 393). It is known that Turkish women took part in the political arena before the Turks encountered the Middle East culture. However, with the 1600s, it is seen that there was a process in which they were removed from the public space, especially in big cities, and they were drawn into the home life. However, when Ibn-i Batuta came to İzmir in 1333, he stated that he was accepted in the presence of Orhan Bey’s wife, Nilüfer Hatun. The environment he encountered and the position of Turkish women in the 1400s was described by him in the following way: “*One of the attitudes that I have seen in this country that has taken me by surprise is the extreme respect that men show to women. In this country, women are considered superior to men.*” However, it is known that with the edicts published in the 1600s, restrictions began to be imposed on the social life of Turkish women and this situation continued until the collapse of

the state. For example, with the edicts published in 1603, 1610, 1787 and 1828 before the proclamation of the Tanzimat, too many restrictions were imposed on the social life of women, from going out to the streets to the clothes they would wear and the public transportation vehicle they would take, and the publication of such edicts continued in the following period (Konan, 2011:162).

While the struggle for the suffrage of Western women continued in the 20th century, Ottoman women followed the developments closely. The developments in the world were conveyed to the society by organizing conferences on the subject and writing articles in journals. However, Ottoman women were content with following the developments for a certain period of time and did not demand the right to vote for that period (Yürüt, 2017:392). It is seen that the enlightened women of the period were aware of how important it was to direct and shape politics. However, when the newspapers and magazines of the period are examined, it is understood that they thought that they did not have enough formation in order to gain the right to be elected. Based on this idea, it is understood that they found it appropriate to start the struggle for the right to vote after they succeeded in taking part in the social arena (Kadın ve Hakk-ı İntihab, Kadınlar Dünyası, Yıl: 1, No:133, (R. 1 Mart 1329) p.2; Çakır, 2021:395-396; Run, 2017:392).

As can be seen, women have not yet demanded the right to vote, but have participated in various political activities. For example, they joined the Party of Union and Progress during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period. During this period, there was an increase in the number of associations and women became members of them. It is stated in the party statute of the Committee of Union and Progress that “*women can become members of the party and will have the same rights and duties as men*”. There were 40 women members of the society, and these members played an important role in the secret distribution of letters and newspapers (Okuducu, 2014:165, 177).

In 1919, it was discussed whether women should take part in the parliament or not. Because, some of the Turkish women wanted to participate in the “*sura-ı Saltanat (Sûray-ı Saltanat/Saltanat Şurası)*”, which was to be held in the Majlis-i Mebusan on May 26, 1919 to discuss the occupations of Izmir and Anatolia. As a result, “*Is it permissible to make such a move? Isn't it fair?*” discussions were made. There were those who said it is permissible, and there were also those who say it was not. As a result, it was not seen that women did not attend any meeting in the parliament during this period (Türkgeldi, 1987:125; Kaplan, 1998:35).

In 1921, the “Ottoman Defense of Law Society (*Osmanlı Müdafaa-i Hukuk-u Nisvan Cemiyeti*)” added the right to elect and be elected to the association’s program. During this period, women began to make demands such as taking active roles in political life, being a member of parliament and participating in official meetings. They demanded the removal of barriers to women in political life. This situation continued in the Republic of Turkey as well. Nezihe Muhiddin led the establishment of the “Turkish Women’s Union (*Türk Kadınlar Birliği*)” in 1924 in order to work towards providing women with political and social rights (Altındal, 1994: 235; Konan, 2011; 165-166; Kural, 2017: 393). Giving political rights to Turkish women came to the fore in 1923 when the law on parliamentary election was being discussed, while the 1924 Constitution was being prepared and amendments were being made to some articles of the election law, but in this process, no result was found in favor of women. As a matter of fact, Turkish women were granted the right to participate in municipal elections in 1930 and to vote and be elected in general elections in 1934⁴ (Yürüt, 2017:393; Erkmén, 2019: 617).

2.3. Education

Westernization movements in the Ottoman Empire started with the Tulip Era. Researches show that while trying to make innovations in the military field in this period, the daily life of the West was also greatly influenced. The period in question was called the period of “*pleasure*” for the palace and its surroundings. In this period, there was a period in which luxury consumption increased and excessive expenditures were made in the said segment. There was a period in which women in the palace and around were “*overdressed*” and in order to prevent this, edicts were issued that imposed restrictions on women’s clothing and going out (Özcan, 2003: 83). In fact, Westernization movements not only affected the daily life of women in this period, but also continued to affect the social life of women in the following periods, causing changes in their social status. Because the transformation seen in the field of education with the Tanzimat period began to be seen in other fields over time, also with the influence of the education received (Doğan 2019: P.54).

4 When political rights were limited to “*the right to elect and be elected*”, men did not have the right to “elect and be elected” until the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy, since there was no “*representation system*” in the Ottoman Empire (Konan, 2011: 163).

In the Tulip Era, innovations began to be made in military education institutions. In this context, Western-style education has been tried to be given in the fields of military medicine and engineering. Formal education consisted of primary school, Enderun and madrasahs. Turkish women could only attend the Sibyan school. Obviously, this is also limited. This is due to the fact that the education of girls was not given importance and there was no need for it. Only the administrators and the girls of the ulama class could receive special education at home. This was called “*Konak Education*”. In addition, a kind of vocational training was given to the women working in the mansions in a master-apprentice relationship (Kurnaz 1992: 17; Doğan 2019: 53). When we look at the Armenian nation of the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that this nation was active in the education of girls before the Tanzimat and gave more importance to the issue than the Muslims. As a matter of fact, it is known that a girls’ school was opened in Kumkapı in 1741-1745 under the auspices of Patriarch Nalyan and that the Armenian nation, especially the tradesmen, financially supported the schools opened in the neighborhood where they were located (Doğan 2019:54).

Education is an important tool that states should benefit from in order to raise generations that will ensure their continuity and keep their national cultures alive (Avcı, 2013:43). Women’s education is important because it is women who will raise new generations. In general, in the Ottoman Empire, the importance of the education of Muslim women during the Tanzimat period was understood and women started the struggle to obtain the right to receive education. Until this period, the woman was in the state of “*existing with her husband and father*”, but with the education she received in this period, she “*discovered that the way to exist as an individual is through education.*” “*Women who coded themselves only in relation to their father and husband until this period realized that they gained visibility only with their own names at the end of the education process and they worked to spread this. This transformation is seen in women’s signatures.*” So much so that while “*the first women’s writings were characterized as İsmail Pasha’s kerimesi and Kemal Bey’s harem,*” and in the following period, examples of women’s own signature, such as “*Fatma Naima from Darulmuallimat*”, show that women “*gained an academic identity*”. Although there were undesirable discussions that the school education corrupted the morals of children, the idea that school education is necessary started to settle (Doğan 2019: 54- 55).

In the Tanzimat Period, the idea of spreading education was dominant. It was aimed to make modern education widespread with the idea that Muslims do

not face ignorance. In this period, education was accepted as “*one of the main problems*”. In the said process, primary education continued in Sıbyan schools, where girls as well as boys could attend, as in the past (Yürüt 2017: 387; Doğan 2019: .55-56,58).

So much so that the opportunity for girls to receive secondary school education was first put on the agenda during the Tanzimat period. With the *tazkire* dated 1858, it was mentioned that education is compulsory for the development of the country and the importance of girls’ education in secondary schools. In 1861, it was announced through newspapers that girls’ secondary schools were opened and women’s education was compulsory. It is known that the “*Cevri Kalfa Kız Rüştıyesi (Cevri Kalfa Girls’ Secondary School)*”, opened in Sultanahmet in Istanbul in 1858 (1859 according to some sources), was opened as the first girls’ secondary school (Atalay, 2020: 28; Doğan 2019: 55-56).

The “*Education Regulations (Maarif Nizamnamesi)*” of 1869 initiated studies that would have important results, albeit limited, on the education of women. With the regulation, it was made compulsory for girls aged 6-11 to attend the primary school. Arrangements were made to cover each neighborhood and village, and the education period was determined as 4 years. Non-Muslims were given the right to receive education in their own language. Again, according to this regulation, it was decided to open high schools for girls in big cities other than Istanbul, and for girls to take sewing and painting lessons as well as taking the courses taken by men students. Music was added to the curriculum as an elective course. With the *Kanun-ı Esasi*, which was announced in 1876, primary education became compulsory (Yürüt 2017: 387; Başak, 2020: 7-11; Doğan 2019: .55-56,58; Çakır, 2021:298). By 1877, the number of girls’ secondary schools (*Sultanahmet, Eyüp, Şehzade, Atpazarı, Gülferm Hatun, Atik Ali Pasha, İbrahim Pasha, Üsküdar and Aksaray*) increased in Istanbul (Atalay, 2020: 28).

Since there were no women teachers in these educational institutions, men instructors had to give lessons other than embroidery (Doğan 2019: 55-56). This situation made it compulsory to open a girls’ teacher training school. In this process, until women teachers were trained, elders and men teachers believed to have good morals were assigned in girls’ schools. In addition, junior high schools for girls lagged behind boys both in terms of buildings (such as narrow buildings, latticed windows) and curriculum (such as implementing a curriculum in line with the Ottoman society’s expectations from women). While explaining the importance of a woman’s ability to read and write by the government, it is seen that the emphasis is on making her husband happier with the education she

receives. In other words, the aim of women's education is to create a good housewife and make her husband happy when he comes home (Çakır, 2021: 298).

Darülmuallimat (girls teacher's school), which was opened in 1869, had its first graduates in 1873. 17 girls graduated. Six of the graduates were appointed as teachers (Fahriye, Münire, Fatma Nigar, Zehra and Hatice) to the Girls' High School; Thus, "*the first women teachers with vocational education*" started to work in the Ottoman Empire (Çakır, 2021:300; Yule 2017:387). In 1881, there was a first, a woman made a speech at the closing ceremony of the school for the first time (Doğan, 2019:59). In the 1879-1880 academic year, a woman (Fatma Zehra Hanım) became the principal of the school for the first time. With the amendment made in the Girls Teacher's School Regulations in 1895, gender discrimination was felt deeply. This is owing to the fact that with the instruction, it was forbidden for men and women teachers to be in the same place (Çakır, 2021:300-301). The writings of Belkıs Hanım, a graduate of the aforementioned school, in the following years are important in terms of showing how the school approaches women. Ms. Belkıs showed the attitude of the administrators of the period to women with the words "...*Your headscarf will accidentally slip off, you were given to the disciplinary committee at that hour... They should not see you on the street with a raised veil, because this behavior will cost you a harsh punishment...*" (Okutucu, 2014: 119; Execute 2017:387).

It is understood from the researches that the opening of vocational schools for girls started with the attempts of European businessmen to establish industrial schools affiliated to large factories in Rumelia and Istanbul (Erişçi, 2020:107).

In 1869, "*Yedikule Girls' Industrial School*" was opened in order to provide vocational training to women. The aim of the opening of this school is to train women as qualified personnel ready for working life. *Üsküdar Girls' High School* (Üsküdarınas School), which was opened in 1878, was later transformed into the "*Girls Art School*". In 1879, three more girls' industrial schools were opened in Aksaray and Cağaloğlu, Istanbul. These schools included a seven-year education period that combined middle school and high school in the form of "iptidai ve rüşdi". With the regulation published for industrial schools in 1884, the number of students in these schools was increased and the education period was increased to eight years (Çakır, 2021: 298-299). It is seen that the expansion of girls' art schools continues with schools opened in big cities other than Istanbul (*Bursa, İzmir, Konya, Kastamonu, Diyarbakır, Aleppo, Tripoli*) (Doğan 2019:58). In this process, a "Workers' Association (*Ameleperver Cemiyeti*)"

was established in Istanbul (1871) to support women's work (Erişçi, 2020:107). In 1887, fine arts (Sanâyi-İ Nefise Mektebi), history, law, commerce and girls' industrial school were affiliated to the Ministry of Education (Çakır, 2021: 299).

In 1880, the first Girls' High School (girls' high school) was opened in Istanbul (Salname-i Devlet Aliyye-i Osmaniyye, Year 1328, 336-344.).⁵ In the beginning, when the demand to send girls to this school was low, informative articles were written about the school in the newspapers of the period in order to encourage girls to go to school (İgüs, 2008: 65). In the first period, the school's curriculum was composed of "general culture, Turkish, three western languages, music, home and handicraft courses" (Doğan 2019:58). The opening of girls' high schools is important because girls have started to be educated at the high school level. In 1906-1907, there was one private high school for girls in Manastır and three private high schools in Istanbul. These schools show that the education in girls' high schools continued, albeit to a small extent. In the same years, it is seen that foreigners (Western states) had a total of 29 girls' schools, 17 of which were foreigners and 12 of non-Muslims, and they continued to provide high school education to girls in these schools (Kurnaz, 1996:83).

In the 1913-1914 academic year, "Women High School (*İnas İdadisi*)" in Istanbul was transformed into Sultaniye (today's high school for girls). The establishment of the Republic of Turkey will be expected for the establishment of girls' high schools (sultaniler) in other provinces (Çakır, 2021: 302).

Research shows that despite all the developments in the Tanzimat and the First Constitutional Period and the efforts of the ruling class, the education given to women was insufficient. Because in these years, education was given in line with the expectations of the society from women (such as being a better wife, better mother). However, improvements were made in the education programs during the Second Constitutional Period. This is due to the fact that women, in their requests to the Ministry of Education, drew attention to both the inadequacy of the education given to girls and brought up the opening of boarding schools for girls living in Anatolia ⁶(Yürüt, 2017: 387-388).

5 Initially, 3 students enrolled in the school, and due to lack of interest, it had to be closed after two years. It is understood that the reason for this indifference is that families do not want to send their girls to school (Doğan 2019: 58).

6 It is known that in 1913, there were 40,455 students and 983 women teachers in 588 girls' primary schools across the country (Doğan 2019:59).

It is seen that the women of the Second Constitutional Era fought a lot to obtain the right to higher education⁷. In this period, studies were carried out primarily through the “Women’s World Journal (*Kadınlar Dünyası*)”. The journal has made attempts to publish continuously on this subject. Finally, the studies yielded results and İnas Darülfünunu (Women’s University) was opened for women in 1914. In the beginning, women were educated separately from men at the İnas Darülfünun. In 1920, the said university was merged with the Istanbul Darülfünun; Here, too, women were asked to be educated in separate classes. However, girls protested the practice by participating in the classes of men students and enabled the university to provide co-education (Doğramacı, 199:22; Yavaş, 2017:388; Dulum, 2006: 52-53).

The women students had the opportunity to meet with the Minister of Education with the collective action they took in front of the Ministry of Education in order to provide coeducation at the University and they had the Minister accept their demands. Following this development, in 1921, the Board of Professors took a decision to switch to coeducation at the University (for girls to get education together with boys). Thus, such an application was made in the faculties of Science and Letters for the first time, and co-education started in the faculties of Law in the 1921-1922 academic year and in the faculties of medicine in the 1922-1923 academic year⁸. For the realization of this application, it is stated that Prof. Dr. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu had an important role (Doğan 2019: 61).

In 1915, in the Tedrisat-ı İptidaiye Law, the law for the opening of “Kindergartens(*Ana Mektepleri*)”, which was planned as the first step of primary schools⁹, was put into effect. Teachers trained in Darülmualimat took charge here and prepared girls and boys between the ages of 4-6 for primary school level with the lessons they gave (Çakır, 2021:302-303).

The women’s education movement that started with the Tanzimat was developed and continued during the Second Constitutional Era, and a point was reached where “the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezareti*)” appointed women teachers such as Sadiye Hadice, Nakiye and Nezihe Muhiddin as inspectors to

7 “On March 19, 1919, Minister of Education Ali Kemal started classes for women at the Philosophy Faculty of Istanbul Darülfünun, and girls in these classes were only allowed to remove their veils during the class (Doğan 2019: 60).”

8 It is stated that Prof. Dr. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu played an important role in the realization of this practice (Doğan 2019: 61).

9 Elementary schools (first name iptidai sample schools) started to be opened in 1872. These are the schools that provide education at the primary level opened next to the Sibyan schools (Palalı, 2021: 88).

school. Likewise, Halide Edip (Adıvar) (1917) was appointed as an inspector to open girls' schools in Beirut and Damascus. Women's participation in higher education began with the appointment of Zekiye and Zehra ladies (1917) as assistant directors at İnas Darülfünun (Kurnaz, 1996:123). Until 1918, women teachers who could only work in girls' schools gained the right to work in boys' primary schools with an arrangement made in that year (Koçer, 1972:103).

When we look at the Turkish women in the field of health, they started to take midwifery classes once a week in Istanbul, shortly after the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict (in 1843). As a result of the examination held at the "Mektebi Medical School (*Mektebi Tıbbiye*)" in 1845, 36 of these women (10 Muslims, 26 Christians) had a midwifery diploma. The first obstetrics clinic was opened in 1892. In 1909, a midwife school was opened in Haseki Hospital (Doğan,2019:55,59).

Women's admission to the Faculty of Medicine had been somewhat painful. While it was not unusual for them to go to the Faculty of Literature and Law, their desire to study medicine met with serious opposition (Çakır, 2021:299). This process started with the application of Dr. Adnan (Adıvar), the "General Director of Health (*Sıhhiye Umum Müdürü*)" of the period, to the Grand Viziership in 1917 so that Turkish women could also become physicians. Enver Pasha, who was the head of the Parliament at that time, opposed this proposal, but a year later (1918) women were allowed to study medicine, dentistry and pharmacy by the said assembly. However, the debates continued because the opponents prevented it from being implemented (Kurnaz, 1996:89-90; Dulum, 2006:52-53). The demands and struggles of women on this issue continued. In groups, they had interviews with the leading figures of the society, which could be called tedious, and they achieved their goals after a difficult process by ensuring that their views were published in the press. As a result, in 1922, Istanbul Faculty of Medicine admitted women students for the first time. Despite those who claimed that it was impossible for women students to receive medical education for various reasons, the girls continued the education process without any difficulty. However, they had difficulties in anatomy lessons because of their headscarves. This problem was solved by girls wearing caps. Finally, the first women physicians managed to get their diplomas in 1928. While there is a need for a women doctor in a country like the Ottoman Empire, which has a tradition of keeping women away from men; Many people objected to the training of women doctors. This can be shown as one of the contradictory states of social understanding in the Ottoman Empire (Doğan 2019: 61-63).

While women's struggle for medical education continued in Istanbul, some of the girls went abroad to receive medical education and returned home as physicians. Among these girls, Hayrunnisa received medical education in England, Safiye Ali, Bedriye Bedri and Semiramis Tezel in Germany. Among them, Safiye Ali opened a private practice in Istanbul in 1922 (the year the girls got medical education) as Turkey's first women physician (Doğan 2019:61; Orhunlu, 1968:106). On the other hand, it is known that Belkıs Mahmud received dental education in France in the same period (Kurnaz, 1996:89). A photograph of Belkıs taken while examining a patient in Paris was also featured in the press (Kadınlar Dünyası, Yıl: 2, No: 138, (R.4 Nisan 1330), p.6).

It is seen that the old and the new were synthesized in the field of women's education, as in every field, between Tanzimat and Second Constitutional Monarchy Eras. For example, Selim Sırrı Bey taught Swiss gymnastics to women in chador, while women students of Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi were able to use naked Greek sculptures as an educational tool, provided that they were wrapped in loincloths around their waists. As stated above, the problem was tried to be overcome by making special caps for women whose covering prevented them from taking anatomy lessons (Doğan 2019: 61-63).

2.4. Working Life

In the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918), when the Committee of Union and Progress was active, the idea was to create national trade and industry. Calls were made for the Turkish nation to turn to this field (trade and industry) with men and women. It has been tried to settle the idea of shopping from Turkish and Muslim elements.¹⁰ It was acted with the idea that the Turkish people would turn to trade and industry and thus create a national economy (Toprak, 1982:54; Kaplan 1998:32; Yurut, 2017:391).

Starting from the Tanzimat period, women began to become conscious with the education they received. Thus, Ottoman women acted with the idea of being free, having a job to earn their living and getting rid of being dependent on men. The biggest reason why women are helpless is that they cannot gain their

¹⁰ For example, it was aimed to unite and strengthen the Turkish society in the economic field with the words "The first and foremost duty of all Muslim citizens, men and women, young and old, is to shop from our fellow countrymen and co-religionists, and to try to keep our money in our nation..." (Toprak, 1982: 54; , 2017:391).

economic independence.¹¹ The associations established in this period and the published journals carried out studies for women to have a profession. At first, associations gave vocational courses to women and opened various workplaces in business lines considered unique to them. Moreover, it did not take long for women to bring up their demands to work in scientific fields that are accepted as belonging to men. Women whose education level has increased have started to raise their voices to work together in fields suitable for their abilities.¹² Turkish women who started to work as teachers and school principals as a result of the education they received during the Tanzimat period, during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period, Turkish Muslim women living in big cities, especially in Istanbul, were able to go out of their homes and get jobs as civil servants (Yürüt, 2017:391-392; Kaplan 1998:35).

2.4.1. Women officers in government offices

Turkish women have always been most intensely involved in handicrafts and agriculture. However, this was the case for the Ottoman provinces. Women in big cities were confined to their homes and could not engage in economic activities outside the home for various reasons. Women were able to obtain the opportunity to be civil servants in government offices only during the Second Constitutional Period. It can be said that this situation in favor of women stemmed from the work of women's magazines and associations, the approach of the government of the period to women, and the wars that started in 1911 and continued one after another. This is due to the fact that, in those years, women started to fill the places of civil servants who went to war. However, the conservative part of the Ottoman Empire reacted against women's work, especially as a civil servant (Kurnaz, 1996:124; Kurnaz, 1992:135; Karakışla, 2001: 30; Erdem and Yiğit, 2010: 116-117; Tüzün and Altuncuoğlu, 2019). : 4271).

11 “For us, the phrase ‘I will marry someone and eat a bite of bread’ is like an absolute maxim. Every class of people has accepted this. There was not another option. Living is only in need of a bite of bread brought by the man for every woman, big or small. They cannot argue. Because she has no power in her hands.” (Demirdirek, 1993: 115; Walk, 2017:391).

12 *Kadınlar Dünyası* (journal) supported women in working life in the following words: “...Is it permissible to give freedom to women and make them work in the same way as men?” I think that women of religion are not an exception in terms of working, it has been extended to them as well. In the world of life, in the world of civilization and in work, womanhood has a very important place. “Women who are advanced in intelligence and knowledge are known to have shown many great contributions...” (Kadınlar Dünyası, Yıl:1 No: 19, 22 Nisan, 1329; Yurut, 2017:391).

Since the majority of men civil servants were recruited due to the wars in the Second Constitutional Era, women officers began to fill the vacant positions (Erdem and Yiğit, 2010: 116-117) This was not easy, nonetheless. The first public institution that needed women's labor was the PTT, followed by the Ministry of Finance. The Minister of Finance of the period, who supported women's work in the public sector, wanted to show that they supported women's work as civil servants by stating that they created a new field of work for them in his speech before the exam to be held for the selection of women civil servants (Doğan, 2019:71-72).

After the Telephone Company announced that it would hire women employees, approximately 200¹³ Muslim women applied.¹⁴ However, despite the government's support for women, the company has been very conservative when recruiting Muslim women, making it difficult for Muslim women by "putting on the condition of knowing French and Greek". Because it is not difficult to guess that few Muslim women knew these languages. With the propaganda it made, the "*Mudafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Society*" contributed to the recruitment of Muslim women. As a result, while around 65-70 non-Muslim women were recruited, only 7 Muslim women were recruited¹⁵ (Kurnaz, 1996:124). In the journal "Women's World (*Kadınlar Dünyası*)", the journal of the "*Mudafaa-i Hukuk-ı Nisvan Society (Cemiyeti)*", it is seen that they contributed to Muslim women's participation in the workforce with the following statements: "...We are an Ottoman country. We are Turkish, we speak Turkish. For this reason, we do not need to know Greek nor French..." (Kadınlar Dünyası, "Birinci Sene-i Devriye Münasebetiyle", Sene: 2, No: 138, s.3-4; Kurnaz, 1996:124).

The sections that do not welcome Turkish women to work in official offices reacted to these and criticized the government for this practice. Due to the negative behaviors that emerged, the women working in the post office had to give up "*wearing one type of clothing*" after a certain period of time in order to be protected from them (Doğan, 2019:72). Women who were taken into service in the Ministry of Finance were able to work with the understanding of harem greetings in working life (Aslan, 2006:13). So much so that the women officer

13 In Kurnaz's work, this number is stated as to have been 2000 (Kurnaz, 1996:124).

14 "Women even made their applications secretly because they were afraid of conservative circles." (Kurnaz, 1996:124)

15 "*Bedia Shekib (Şekib), Bedra Osman, Nezihe Mustafa, Hamiyet Derviş, Mediha, Refika Mustafa, Seniha Hikmet are the first Muslim women to become civil servants* (Kurnaz, 1996:124). *One of them, Bedra Osman, started to work as an inspector.*" (Kadınlar Dünyası, Yıl: 2, No.:138, (R. 4 Nisan 1330), p.1.

hired started to work in the rooms reserved for them. No men were allowed to enter these rooms, except for the specially selected chambermaids, and after work, first men and then women were allowed to leave the workplace. When the men returned from the war, there were women who quit their jobs (Kurnaz, 1996:125).

It is seen that banks are added to the organizations that open their doors to women in working life. For example, the “*Ottoman Bank*” (Pamuk, 2005: 234) founded by British and French investors in 1863 opened a “*Muslim Women’s Service (Müslüman Kadınlar Cemiyeti)*” and Feride Şevket became the first Turkish woman to work in this service of the bank. Feride Şevket, who provided box office services to Muslim women, continued to work here until 1921 (Baysal, 2017: 346). The number of women civil servants, whose numbers were very few before 1914, increased in the 1920s (Eldem, 1997: 263). Women who started to work in many fields were appointed as civil servants to ministries and administrative staff, and thus their number in the bureaucracy increased gradually (Kaplan1998: 34).

2.4.2. Working women

In the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that women worked as workers in every period. For example, it is known from research that 121 (more than 50 percent) of the 201 workers working at the Istanbul Match Factory in 1897 were women (Erişçi, 1951:7). It seems that the society did not show its reaction against women being civil servants to being workers. It is seen that the number of working women in the Second Constitutional Period increased more than ever due to various reasons (such as social developments, economic depression), especially the decrease in the men power to work due to the war. As a result of the decrease in men employees due to the war, the number of Turkish women working as workers in the industry has increased (Kurnaz, 1996:125) The administrative staff supported the inclusion of women in the working life under the conditions created by the war during the Balkan Wars and the First World War. In this process, the labor battalions formed by the 1st Army were rapidly expanded. In 1915, with the order of Cemal Pasha, the law for women to provide a kind of obligatory service was accepted. During these years, Muslim women were allowed to work in Labor battalions through the “*Ottoman Women’s Employment Society (Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi)*” and “*İstikhlak-ı Milli Women’s Association (İstihlak-ı Milli Kadınlar Cemiyeti)*” (Toprak, 1982:50-55; Toprak, 1995: 61; Taşçıoğlu:1958: 45; Kaplan, 1998: 34).

During this period, women were employed as workers in different fields such as matches, silk, sugar, tahini, biscuits, canned goods, tobacco factories, timber, carpet, weaving, cigarette paper, soap, chemical products, printing and other paper products (Kurnaz, 1996: 126-29). Moreover, Turkish women were also engaged in works such as road construction, street cleaning (Kaplan, 1998 34), laundry, and packing. As always, they continued to work in the field and in the market in this period (Kaplan, 1998 31). It is understood that the negative life conditions experienced in these years dragged women into working life more than ever (Kurnaz, 1996:125).

In this process, where social and economic activities increased for women, women started to participate in various organizations and meetings. Women workers were employed everywhere in unsuitable conditions and with unequal pay.¹⁶ For this reason, it is seen that women take part in the strikes themselves as workers (Kurnaz, 1996:132), and moreover, women play an important role in these strikes. Most of the strikes carried out during the Second Constitutional Era were organized in lines of business such as “*food, tobacco, textiles*” where women worked intensively (Erişçi, 1951:2856; Kaplan, 1998:33). Strikes were movements of men and women workers dissatisfied with wages and working hours. The effectiveness of women workers in strikes, who opposed low wages and difficult working conditions, increased over time. For example, between 24 July and 31 October 1908, nearly a hundred strikes were held. These strikes carried out were seen in different cities such as “*Istanbul, Thessaloniki, Izmir, Beirut, Midilli, Samsun, Eskişehir, Konya, Bulgurlu, Edirne, Demirkapi, Komotini, Foca, Kavala, Drama, Ergani, Balya-Karaaydın, Adana, Gevgeli, Manastir, Skopje, Varna, Ereğli*”. Strikes were mostly organized in sectors where women work intensively, such as tobacco factories, weaving, carpet and fabric factories (Sencer, 1969: 198; Kaplan: 1998: 33-34).

2.4.3. Women in private enterprise

Of course, the restrictions imposed on women have not been in all areas. In the Ottoman Empire, women could own property and engage in commercial activities. In the Ottoman Empire, there have always been women who own and operate their property, albeit a little (Şimşek, 2020:197). The emphasis

¹⁶ For example, there are hundreds of women workers working in silk factories in Bursa. Those who came from the surrounding villages of Bursa show that they stayed under bad conditions in the rooms reserved for them (within the factory) (Kurnaz, 1996:125).

on private enterprise in the program of the Committee of Union and Progress during the Second Constitutional Monarchy made it easier for women to prove themselves in this field as well. In fact, according to Islamic principles, women could trade on the condition that they protect their privacy. In fact, there was no problem with women working in rural areas, it can even be said that most of the work was placed on the shoulders of women. Women in the countryside also had the right to freely sell their produce wherever they wanted. When women were mentioned in the Ottoman Empire, the problem was experienced in big cities, especially in Istanbul. In the democratic environment brought about by the Constitutional Monarchy, women began to be seen more in private enterprises as a result of Western and Turkist intellectuals, women's magazines and associations supporting women in every field (Kurnaz, 1996:133). It is known that women of this period made handicrafts in Istanbul in line with the orders they received from Europe. It is seen that Turkish women, who started to take part in working life as workers and civil servants, started to become merchants and tradesmen over time. It is seen that this development is supported by words of praise in the press (Kaplan, 1998: 32-33).

Women were involved in small or large private enterprises such as tailoring, pastry shop management, photography, trade, machinist, typesetting and mining. It is known that these activities are carried out in small cities as well as in big cities (Kurnaz, 1996:133). For example, Ms. Naciye opened a women's photographer's shop, first in Yıldız (Istanbul) and then in Bayazıt (Istanbul) under the name "Women's Photographer Naciye (*Hanımlar Fotoğrafçısı Naciye*)" (1919). She also gave photography lessons to women in Istanbul (Çakır, 1991:297) The women's committee established a company (in Istanbul Cağaloğlu) with the name "Haymana Black Amber Mine Enterprise Company Milliyesi (*Haymana Siyah Kehribar Madeni İşletme Şirketi Milliyesi*)". On the other hand, a lady named Fatma Nefise established the "Business Dormitory" to deal with mining works in the Joint Han (Istanbul) in Galata Türk Yurdu, ("Hanımlarımızın İktisadi Teşebbüsleri.",IV/10 (August 1329/p.784; Kurnaz,1996:134) Behire Hakkı Hanım, who founded "Biçki Yurdu (tailor house/ dormitory)" in order to prevent sewing money from going to non-Muslims, was awarded with the "Industry Medal and Education Medal (*Sanayi Madalyası ve Maarif Nişanı*)" (BOA, Hattı Hümayun, nr. 9273, (1203/1788; İT genel no:1382, belge no:1332-N-5). It is known that there are examples of these in other cities and the state officials support it (Kurnaz, 1996:133).

It is seen that the Second Constitutional period women seem to have changed their perspective on working life. This can be supported with the fact that there is a change even in the lullabies sung to the child. “*Mothers who used to sing lullabies to put their children to sleep so that they could be officers or clerks are now leaving their chanting worthy of this vusata (Medieval).*” We see that women’s thoughts on business and working life have changed (Kaplan, 1998: 30-31).

2.4.4. Women in theater

Theater in the Ottoman Empire became widespread during the Constitutional Monarchy period. However, this development has brought with it the problem of whether women characters can take place on the stage. In the first periods of the theater performances, men artists wearing women’s clothes were put on the stage instead of women, while non-Muslim women and then foreign women started to take part in the theater in the following periods. However, this development did not please the conservative non-Muslims. So much so that the opposition of the Armenian Patriarch, Armenian women continued to take the stage (Kaplan, 1998:28). despite

However, since the Armenian and Greek women performing in the theater could not pronounce Turkish well, some opinions began to be written in the press (for proper speaking of Turkish) that Turkish women should appear on the stage. In particular, it is known that Ahmet Hikmet, Muhsin Ertuğrul, Halit Fahri and Mehmet Fuat are among those who wrote supporting articles on this subject. Halit Fahri said, “... *Women should be invited to participate in the national stage. It is an event to be expected and applauded seriously for the half-art world in our country...*” Temâşâ magazine also published articles about women going to the theater as actors and spectators (Kurnaz, 1996:136). Muhsin Ertuğrul, on the other hand, said, “...*What if this literary slumber, even if a great spirit arose among the affable Turkish womanhood, it would once again shatter two ingrained bigotry by joining the theater! Undoubtedly, this first honor of courage will belong to her...*” In one of the letters from the readers, the theater was evaluated as an educational institution and it was stated that the people over the age of 30 would only receive education through theatre. It was stated that Caucasian Muslim women took part in theaters with their honor and it was argued that Turkish women could do this as well (Kurnaz, 1996: 135-136). In 1918, a few Turkish girls applied to Istanbul Darülbedayi as theater actors and

the events that developed increased the discussions on this subject. Among the applicants, Afife and Refika ladies worked behind the scenes as trainees (Kaplan, 1998:29). For the first time, Afife Hanım appeared on the stage at the Apollon Theater in Kadıköy under the pseudonym “Jale”, but she faced police raids in her plays (Kurnaz, 1996:136).

The appearance of Halide Edip (Adıvar), one of the Turkish women, on the stage was also met with a reaction. While the debates about whether Muslim women can go to the theater or not, debates about whether Muslim women can go on stage have also started with this development. With the intervention of Sheikh al-Islam, Muslim women were forbidden to appear on the stage, and women of Armenian and Greek origin continued to appear in women roles in theaters in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire (Kaplan, 1998:29).

The play “*Vatan yahut Silistre*”, performed by the Committee of Union and Progress, attracted great attention and it was decided that the play would be performed by women as well. While the play was being played in İzmir, the decision taken was announced and necessary announcements were made. Thereupon, those who were opposed to Muslim women going to the theater reacted to the decision and prevented women from going to the theater. According to the research, under pressure, they made the Mufti decide “*It is religiously objectionable for Muslim women to go to the theater*”. After this decision was taken, a conservative crowd started demonstrations, dispersed to Muslim neighborhoods and threatened the public by saying that “*Muslim women who were seen on the streets after the sun went down and wanted to go to the theater would be killed*”. They kept watch in front of the theater and tried to prevent participation in the theater (Kaplan, 1998:28-29; Güzel, 1984:8-15). Finally, Turkish women would be able to go to the theater freely in the State of the Republic of Turkey and appear on the theater stage as an actress.

2.5. The Issue of Women’s Dressing and Being able to Go Out

Considering the dress of women in ancient Turks, Roux stated that women wore clothes made of embroidered silk fabric, women wore an embroidered silk dress that hung on the ground three feet long, and that she wore an eight-foot-long horn made with five different colored precious stones on her head. Roux stated that the origin of the unique headdress called “boktak” seen in Islamic miniatures and the headdress called “hennin” seen in the Middle Ages in the West is this “horn” headgear (Jean-Paul Roux: 2007:142). Christine Peltre also talked about

the variety of Turkish women's clothing¹⁷ (Peltre, 2015: 137). Based on the rumor, Afetinan asserted that *the fashion of 'veils and yasmak' passed to the Ottoman Turks from Iran and Byzantium* and stated that this custom was not observed in the first Muslim Turks who came to Anatolia. He argued that the closure seen in the Ottoman state was applied to Turkish women outside of the rights granted by Islam in terms of appearance and stated that the urban women were removed from social life as a result of the closed situation. Emphasizing that wearing a headscarf is essentially a rule of Islam and that it is practiced in tribes that accept religion, Afetinan stated that its implementation is different and in different ways everywhere¹⁸(Afetinan, 1982:63).

From the researches, it is understood that in the Ottoman Empire, edicts to control the social life of women began to be published from the time of Ahmet, and this situation continued until the collapse of the state (Atilgan, 2016: 86). The harem/selam practice applied in big cities and the edicts that would limit the social life of women reshaped the home culture of Turkish families in Ottoman town houses. According to this, the woman had to live a closed life, who could not talk to or meet with men, except her husband and her closest men relative who did not marry, only doing housework or having her done, doing handicrafts or looking after children (Afetinan, 1982: 62). Research shows that these edicts contain prohibitions on very different contents, such as how women should dress, where they can go or where they cannot go, what days of the week they can go out, how they can get on the transportation vehicles, and whether they can go to the theater in the future, on the grounds of religious beliefs (Atilgan, 2016:84).).

It can be concluded that Ottoman women were also affected by the fact that edicts and fatwas about women's clothing and interventions to go out on the street began to be seen frequently with the Tulip Era, and the Westernization

17 *"The extraordinary diversity is striking. We see Muslim women from Yemen, some of whom are dressed in a hybrid dress between a mantle and a chador; some are dressed in a tango chador; some are content with a transparent veil that covers the lower part of their faces, or in Anatolian villages, they cover a part of their hair. Non-veiled Jewish and Christian women dressed modestly and solemnly as required by the Islamic lands. There are also Balkan women with their embroidered clothes and colorful linens. Next to them are the European-dressed Thessaloniki, facing West, or the girls of the young Republic wearing shirts and shorts on the occasion of a national event. Cheerful or sad, standing or sitting, rarely lying down. Lots of active women most of the time. One is reading a book, the others are women who sew, embroider, spin threads, weave fabrics, wash clothes, prepare coffee, knead dough, milk cows, plow soil... fascinate and captivate people..."*

18 Based on historical records, the author stated that *"in the early periods of Islam, there was no rule that women should not cover themselves, and the face remained uncovered even though it was a requirement to cover the head while praying"* (Afetinan, 1982:63).

process initiated in this period, which supports this in the edict on women's life published in 1726 (Berktaş, 2002:275). Because this edict (in the period of Ahmet III) includes bans on women's clothing, known as "*the ban on obscene travel for women*" (Koçu, 1967: 8-9).

In this process, where the prohibitions started and continues to increase, the state is experiencing a period of decline and collapse. In this process, it is known that there are those who act with the idea that the country must live in accordance with the rules of Islam in order to regain its former power or that the state is in the process of collapse because these rules are not fully implemented. It is seen that the position of the woman and her dressing are shown as reasons for the bad course and this is questioned. As a result, it is seen that the idea of reviving the religious rules with the prohibitions against women and making the country regain its former power by doing this is also effective in the regulations to remove women from social life (Tuğlacı, 1984: 14; Atılğan, 2016: 91).

With the implementation of the Tanzimat and Islahat edicts, the face of the society is changing. However, the publication of the edicts restricting the social life of women during this process is in contrast with this. Reformation movements have gradually begun to produce results that the conservative segment does not like. With the rules put into practice during the proclamation of the Tanzimat and the Constitutional Monarchy, a change began to be seen in the identity of women along with the Ottoman society. While this change is taking place, it is seen that there is a contradictory process in which the pressures on women's clothing do not disappear (Atılğan, 2016: 91).

Examples of these edicts restricting the social life of women: In the edict published in the Mahmud I Period (in 1751), it was stated that "*with the arrival of spring, women went to the recreation areas of Istanbul a lot, they were clearly and inappropriately, heard from reliable people*" and stated that "*women going on tours were heard from*". *and the coach drivers who take them will be severely punished*" (Tuğlacı, 1984: 12). In the third Ottoman period, women could only go out on the street four days a week and in the Mustafa IV period, edicts were issued stating that women could never leave the house (Afetinan, 1982: 86-87). It can be deduced from the frequently published edicts that these orders were not followed much. It is seen that another edict was issued in the same year that imposed restrictions on women's clothing and going out on the grounds that "*they imitate infidel women*" (Şahin, 2006:64). Abdülhamid stated that he saw that the women were not dressed properly in his observations, wrote to the district governor of Istanbul what he saw in handwriting, and ordered the

municipal police to be warned and to cut the “hotoz (crown)” and collars of women who did not dress properly¹⁹ (BOA, Hatta Hümayun, nr.9273; 1203/1788; Atılgan, 2016: 89). With the edict of 1789, it was forbidden for women to get on boats and carry umbrellas (the umbrellas carried for decoration) (Atılgan, 2016:89). During the Selim III period, there was discontent with the delicacy of the abayas worn by women. For this reason, it was stated that the wearing of abayas made of light-colored and thin fabrics was prohibited, and the shopkeepers who weaved, sewed and sold the fabric in this way would also be punished. It is understood that they act with the thought that if they are not produced, they cannot be worn (Sevin, 1990: 120; Afetan, 1982: 86-87; Atılgan, 2016: 90). In 1890, another edict, similar in content to other edicts, was published, but in this edict, it was announced that both the woman and her husband would be taken into custody and this situation would be disclosed (Koç and Koca, 2010: 45; Atılgan, 2016: 92).

With a law enacted in the Tanzimat period (23 Muharrem 1278), women were forbidden to go to the shops and places belonging to men for shopping and to walk on the streets at night (Düstur, C.II. I. Tertip, İstanbul.1290, s.760-764; Kurnaz, 1996:121). With the edict of 1851, restrictions were imposed on women’s boarding of state ferries in the Bosphorus, and it was stated that the ban on traveling on ferries operated by foreigners continued (BOA, İ.MVL, 196/6068; nal, et al. 2015.:90). Abdulhamid II banned the use of feraces in 1889 on the grounds that they were not suitable for veiling, acting on the fact that the abayas, which have been tried to be limited by prohibitions and returned to their traditional form since the 18th century, have changed a lot and these bans do not have the quality to prevent change. Instead, it was thought that the chador model, which Abdüllatif Suphi Pasha’s wife wore for the first time in 1872, was considered the best burqa model and it was compulsory for all women to dress in this way (Tezcan, 1995: 320; Atılgan, 2016: 92). In this period, the opposite of the above-mentioned situation was experienced. Abdulhamid II (1308/1892) saw Muslim women wearing black chadors made of very thin fabric and covered with black tulle and stated that they “*looked like Christians in mourning*” and forbade wearing chadors. It is stated that the possibility of some men to be involved in some crimes by camouflaging themselves with the sheets they wore in the said years was also effective in this (Kurnaz, 1992, 57).

19 “...You should advise the police to cut off their “hotoz (crown)” and collar when we come across such women. And if I come across them as well, I will do the same...” (BOA, Hatta Hümayun, nr.9273, (1203/1788).

Afetinan expressed this as “*the prohibition of walking with a sheet and thin veil and a return to the abaya*” (Afetinan, 1982: 87).

In the Second Constitutional Era, women began to behave more comfortably in the “*freedom environment brought by the Constitutional Monarchy*” despite all the previously issued edicts. However, this situation was met with reaction from certain sections of the society and tried to be resisted. In this polarized environment, “*the mayor had to state that women could go out with their husbands to the streets and to the theater*” (Kurnaz, 1996:121). About a year after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy (1909), there was news in the press that the Ministry of Internal Affairs would prosecute those who wore inappropriate clothes on the streets (Sırat-ı Müstakim, “Tesettüre Riayet”, SM, III/5 (Eylül 1325), p. 32). However, it is understood that such an application has not been made.

In an environment where the conflict between the opposition and the government was intense (1911), women wandering on the street were “*threatened with punishment by the Istanbul guard*” and the newspapers that investigated and discussed the issue were also punished. In that year, Sheikh al-Islam issued a warning prohibiting Muslim woman from dressing like their European counterparts. Thus, a separate place was reserved for women in places such as trams, parks and theaters. For example, a day has been determined for women to go to Gülhane Park. Obstacles were also placed on women who wanted to go to a representation in İzmir with an open face (Kurnaz, 1996:121-122). In this period, there was a reaction from conservative circles to the publication of photographs of women without a veil and the use of nude models by women students in the Sanayi-i Nefise School (Berkes, 1978: 436-438; Kaplan, 1998: 30).

In 1910, Kadriye İhsan Hanım²⁰ allowed a photograph of her with her face uncovered (without a veil) to be taken and published. Nimet Cemil Hanım²¹ is one of the women who allowed her photo without a veil to be published. In this period, many women, who did not care about the reactions from conservative circles, had their photos taken without paying attention to the veil, and these photos were published in both the Ottoman and foreign press. Despite the opposition, the number of illustrated publications featuring women’s photographs increased during this period (Unat, 1984: 501-514; Kaplan, 1998:30).

20 Secretary of the Ottoman Nisvan Society and a member of the Ottoman Defense of Law Society.

21 Member of the Ottoman Defense of Law Society.

Articles were also written against the prohibitions faced by women in the process of being able to go out freely. For example, Fatma Aliye, in one of her articles, criticized the prohibition of women getting in the same car as men (Taskiran, 1973:50-51; Kurnaz, 1 1992:124). According to Kurnaz's research, conferences given to women were included in the newspaper *Mehisan*²². In one of these conferences, Ahmet Hikmet stated that "*women have been held captive for 600 years, not 30 years*". Celal Sâhir also stated that the reason for women's problems of that day was due to the ignorance and bigotry of the east, and that it had nothing to do with religion. As can be seen from the examples given, society and the state are very sensitive about the privacy of women. One can immediately take a stand against the developments in women's affairs. On the one hand, the state paid attention to the guests such as the development of women, their education and their participation in working life, on the other hand, tried to keep them separate from men in public places (Kurnaz 1992:122-124). It is seen that the conservative conservative section has a great influence on the separation of women from social life. In this period, the administrators acted contradictory about women, as in every field, while trying to develop women, on the other hand, they tried to narrow their social space.

3. Conclusion

Although not in the same way in all world societies, the distinction between men and women has been and continues to be made. When we look at Turkish history in this way, The Chinese and Indians, who were neighbors to the ancient Turks living in Central Asia, saw women as secondary human beings. The Turks, on the other hand, adopted a lifestyle of equality between men and women, and there was no discrimination between boys and girls. However, Turks who left Central Asia and migrated to different geographies were affected by the cultures they encountered. This interaction process seems to have taken place over a long period of time, not quickly. For example, Byzantine, Persian and Arab influences began to be seen in Ottoman cities in the 160s. It is seen that the reasons such as the Ottoman Empire's takeover of the caliphate, the transition to theocratic order, and the decline of the state. However, contrary to the struggle to keep women at home in the cities, women in the villages where the majority of Ottoman Turks lived continued to work with their men in vineyard, garden and field works, to produce and sell their products in the markets. Marriage with

²² A monthly newspaper that began publication in 1908.

one spouse, which is characteristic of Turkish culture, was mostly continued in the villages.

Urban Turkish women living in the Ottoman Empire lost their rights from Turkish customs over time. With the edicts that started to be published in the 1600s and continued until the collapse of the state, women were tried to be confined to their homes, especially in Istanbul and especially in big cities. Research shows that until the 1600s, which is considered to be the period when the state came to a standstill, Turkish women used the rights that come from the old Turkish tradition and that Islam gave them, albeit to a limited extent. However, with the state's regression process in all areas, especially in the military and economic fields, a certain part of the Ottoman Empire, which we can call conservative, acted in the direction of making living according to Islamic rules more effective, claiming that there was a problem of regression because Islamic rules were not followed. With this thought, it has been argued that the lifestyle and clothing of women caused the bad course. Thus, it was tried to revive religious rules by banning women's lifestyle and by doing this, to restore the country to its former power. Starting from the 17th century, Ottoman women were wanted to be cut off from social life and confined to their homes, with edicts and fatwas aimed at women's social life and clothing.

One of the universal problems is the inability of women to have equal rights with men. With the Industrial Revolution that developed as a result of the Renaissance and Reform movements in the West, Western women began to be seen in business life and, as a result, in social life. Women and men who work and take part in social life have gained rights with the struggle they started for freedom and equal rights. In the process that the Ottoman administrators began to benefit from the science and technique of the West, Ottoman women were also affected by the experiences in the West about the liberation of women and their equal rights with men. These developments in the West, together with the innovation movements initiated in the Ottoman Empire, influenced the Ottoman women.

During the regression period of the Ottoman Empire, it was noticed that there were important developments in the military field in the West due to the wars. Thus, it was desired to modernize the Ottoman military structure by making use of the developments in the West. Western-style innovations began in the Tulip Era (1718-1730). This situation continued and diversified during the Selim III period (1792-1807), II. Mahmut period (1808-1839), Tanzimat (1839-1976) and First and Second Constitutional Monarchy Eras (1876-1878/1908-1918).

While Western-style innovations were tried to be made in the military field in the Tulip Era, a process was experienced in Istanbul where the palace and its surroundings were also affected by the social life of the West. On the one hand, while the conservatives tried to narrow the living space of women, on the other hand, changes in the lifestyle of Ottoman women began to be seen in their clothing with the influence of the West. In the period of Mahmut II, the steps taken in the field of education continued in the Tanzimat period. During this period, discussions began to be made about the need for women to receive education, improve themselves, and start working life.

In the Tanzimat Era, women first started to receive midwifery training and those who received training obtained a midwifery certificate with the exams. This was a beginning. Ottoman women began to receive education in secondary schools, high schools, vocational schools and finally universities, respectively, during the Tanzimat and Meşrutiyet periods, and the women who graduated began to work as educators in educational institutions. While the Ottoman society was changing in the environment created by the Tanzimat and the Constitutional Monarchy, a change began to be seen in the identity of women. Just like the debate on whether women could go abroad alone in the Ottoman parliament, the Ottoman men's discussion of women's rights in a positive and negative way due to the changing conditions, was seen during the Constitutional Monarchy period. It is an important development for humanity that the mentality that sees women as a commodity to be imprisoned in the home has come to this state. Moreover, with their struggle, university women enabled the transition to coeducation in the university. Their struggle to become civil servants in government offices, to receive medical education and to become a doctor was also successful. With all these developments Turkish women, in the Second Constitutional Era, compared to its predecessors, became an educated, extrovert, involved in working life and fighting for equality. In this process, especially the Unionists, Turkist and Westernist women and men intellectuals, women's societies established with their contribution and support have been guiding in the struggle of women and have carried out studies supporting their initiatives. However, the dissatisfaction of the conservatives with the ongoing innovation movements continued. Until the collapse of the state by the said section, activities that imposed restrictions on women's life, such as the issuance of sheikh al-Islam fatwas, the cancellation of legal regulations such as family decrees, which were accepted in favor of women, and the pressure on the neighborhood, continued. Because, the bipolar society structure formed with the innovations made by taking the West as an example in the Ottoman Empire also showed itself in the issue of women.

As a result, Ottoman women could not be fully successful in their struggle, but the developments in the field of women during the Tanzimat and constitutional monarchy periods contributed greatly to the rights given to Turkish women in all areas such as education, political life, business life, social life, and legal rights in the early period of the Republic of Turkey. We can say that Ottoman women left a legacy that they can take as an example to women in today's Turkey with their struggles for women's rights.

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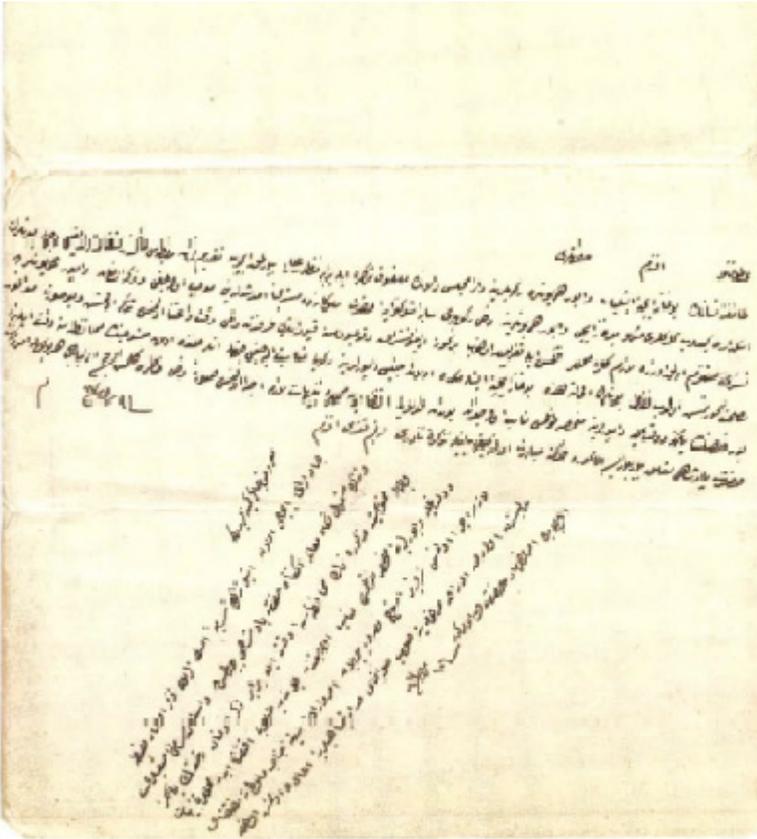
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Appendices



İ.MVL, 196/6068

Appendix 1. An edict dated 1851 on women traveling by ferry on the Bosphorus.

(BOA, İ.MVL, 196/6068, Ünal et al. 2015:90).

CHAPTER VII

AN ANALYSIS ON THE MARRIAGE OF OTTOMAN WOMEN WITH FOREIGN MEN FROM A HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

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1. Introduction

Throughout history, marriage has been one of the important issues in the history of humanity for every society. Defined as “to unite, to bring to bring together” in the dictionary, marriage is the formalization of the union of two people who love one another and who decide to live together for a lifetime (Mandaloğlu, 2016: 137; Atar, 2007: 112).

Old Turks defined marriage as “to be wed” and “to have a home and bark”. The word bark was used to mean a sanctuary in the Orkhon Inscriptions. This illustrates how the Turks have considered home and marriage as sacred entities. (Orhan, 2016:1). So much so that marriage was a social duty in the Old Turks and being single was considered a shame. The type of marriage in which the family structure was legally enacted in Turks before Islam is exogamous marriage, which is defined as external marriage. In the old Turks, along with the consent of the woman and the man, the mother and the father’s consent was sought in marriage. Since it included the quality of a contract that was highly valued in Turks, betrothal was the most crucial step into marriage in Turks as well as the approval of the families involved. In the Old Turks, after the betrothal, the engagement stage was next, which included a promise of marriage and a contract for marriage (Öğel, 1979: 183-184; Kafesoğlu, 1998: 228). Another important issue in marriage in the old Turks was the tradition of the woman’s house asking for “kalın” (mahr) from the man’s house after the

“nişan” (engagement) Although “Kalin” (mahr) has been usually interpreted as the sale price of the woman who is to be married; in fact, it was demanded by the woman’s family merely in return for the expenses incurred for the upbringing of the woman. However, if the girl’s side gave up on the contract of betrothal and “nişan” they would be obliged to return the “kalin” (mahr) they received (Donuk, 1982:165).

The engagement stage would be followed by the wedding ceremony. Seen as an important gathering in terms of family life, the wedding ceremony would involve two important aspects: nikah and the wedding ceremony. Having been defined as the “opening doors to a new home” and “continuation of the lineage” by the Turks, the wedding ceremony would be held after the nikah, which is a formal contract that establishes the wedlock of the two parties that are involved. In addition, wedding ceremony was considered a necessity for the Old Turks. (Mandaloglu, 2016:142)

They perceived the female as the person who raises children in the family, who watches over and protected the male, as well as the one who directed the future of society. (Mandaloglu, 2016: 147). For this reason, the woman, who always had an important place in the social structure of the old Turks, continued to have a very important position in the family that took place after the wedding. To make a comparison, in the same period in the Chinese Empire, women were considered a rather worthless object. Apart from China, women were not an important part of society. Another comparison can be made with Arabia: in Arabia during the period of ignorance before Islam; women were seen as a creatures created to satisfy the passions of men and to perform their services. Since the marriage did not have a religious nature in the marriages of this period, only when she had a child could she be included in the family. Additionally, if the child born in the period of ignorance was a boy, festivals were held, and when the child born was a girl, it was seen as a source of embarrassment (Donuk, 1982: 159-160).

2. Women and Marriage in the Islamic Law

Islam has determined the general principles related to many areas of life and has left the society free in terms of solutions for time and conditions. On the other hand, as an indicator of the importance given to the institution of marriage and family, certain provisions on this subject are directly related to the verses of the Qur’an and the Prophet’s comprehensive explanations (Yurt, 2019:5).

Nineteen verses of the holy book of the Qur'an refer to nikah, in other words, marriage. In a hadith, The Prophet says, "*Get married and reproduce so that I will be proud of you against other ummahs on the Day of Judgment*" (Atar, 2007: 112-113). Furthermore, in the religion of Islam, the family is defined as an institution that constitutes the smallest unit of the society, while marriage is accepted as a contract that regulates the society and prevents people from situations such as immorality (İbiş, 2017: 2). Moreover, during the pre-Islamic period of Ignorance, there were various types of marriages that were unacceptable for women in Arabia. These were the "multi-marriage with up to ten wives, temporary marriage (nikah-i muvakkat, nikah-i müt'a), exchanging spouses (nikah-i bedel), or presenting the spouse to another man in order to have a child from a noble man and not approach to the woman until she had a child (nikah-i istibda) (Aydın, 1989: 198). On the basis of this, indeed, women were not deemed significant in Arabia during the Age of Ignorance. For example, while girls were buried alive before Islam, Islam strictly forbade killing or abandoning girls. In the aforementioned period, while the woman was accepted as a property included in her husband's inheritance, Islam included the woman among the heirs of the husband (Cin, 1974: 42). Additionally, the importance that Islam appoints to woman can be seen in the words of Umar: "Indeed, we did not attach importance to women in the Age of Ignorance. Finally, with the advent of Islam, Allah sent down verses about women and gave them many rights." This statement of Umar is remarkable in that it shows the understanding of women in the pre-Islamic period (Aydın, 2001: 91).

Islam has set limits on marrying many women and forbids a man to marry more than four women. However, it should be noted that although Islam allows marriage up to four women, The Prophet was more in favor of monogamy, that is, a monogamous marriage. On the other hand, Qur'an orders to marry with one woman to those who will not perform absolute equality between spouses (Cin, 1974:44).

In Islamic law, the concept of "nikah" is used to meet the marriage contract. In fiqh terminology, the word nikah refers to the *religiously (şer'an), the contract that allows a man and a woman to join their lives without any temporary marriage, within the framework of the conditions sought in the Shari'ah, and the marriage relationship that occurs between the spouses in this way* (Atar, 2007: 112). Marriage, which creates a life partnership between spouses, is also very important in terms of having children and thus ensuring the continuation of the lineage. However, in Islamic law, two conditions must

definitely be present for a marriage proposal. The first is that there should be no situation that would prevent the marriage, and the second is that the same woman should not have been offered a hand in marriage by someone else. Furthermore, in order for a man to be engaged and be married to a woman, the father of the woman must have permission. Another important factor is that if the woman had been married before, she must be divorced or her husband must not be absent (İbiş, 2017: 2-3). In Islamic law, if the woman accepted the marriage proposal, a betrothal relationship would arise between the parties (Cin, 1974: 48). However, although the engagement is a promise of marriage, it does not impose an obligation on the parties to marry. To explain, both parties has the right to withdraw from the engagement without giving any reason (Kama, 2013: 681). After the engagement stage, the marriage contract is made by the people's own wishes or through their proxies (İbiş, 2017: 2).

On the other hand, Islamic law requires certain characteristics to be met by the parties to be wed. According to Islamic law, people are divided into three in terms of their marriage license. These are fully licensed, under-qualified, and non-qualified. The lower limit of marriage license is 9 for girls and 12 for boys. A full marriage license means having reached puberty. Those who reach puberty acquire a full license of marriage whereas those who lack the power of appeal even if the parties have reached the age of puberty, and those who have the power of appeal but haven't reached the age of puberty would be classified as under-qualified. Those who fall under the under-qualified classification can only marry with the permission and approval of their parents, or they could be married by their parents themselves. The last class, the non-qualified, includes minors who have no capacity to act, and also those who are deemed mentally ill, regardless of them having reached puberty. Due to the fact that these people do not have the capacity to act, they are considered non-qualified for marriage (Erdem, 2019:1752-1753). Yet, Islamic law draws a general frame on the topic and the requirements of the marriage license, thus resulting in the requirements varying across sects.

Since the time of the Prophet, marriages were concluded by third parties, and this contract was generally performed as a ceremony. The first condition of marriage in Islamic law is offer and acceptance, which is made with any kind of words that imply an intention of marriage. While the offer and acceptance declarations must be made in the same environment, the law does not necessitate the parties to be present during the nikah. This is due to the fact that in Islamic law, nikah is a deed that can be fulfilled by proxy (Kurt, 2012: 449-450). What is

more, the testimony of one person was not considered sufficient for the validity of the marriage, and for this reason, it was accepted that the parties declared their will in the presence of two male witnesses (İbiş, 2017:3).

In Islamic law, unlike other contracts, for the validity of the marriage contract, it is required to be concluded in the presence of witnesses. Apart from this, there is no formal obligation such as the marriage ceremony or religious ceremony in the presence of a clergyman or another person (Atar, 2007:114). However, it was paid heed for the wedding to take place in the presence of a clergyman or a civil servant. The reason for this is that marriages and marriages are desired to be registered. In addition to these, according to Islamic law, the man has to give the woman a price such as “cash, goods, etc.” while getting married or during the marriage. So much so that the man is obliged to pay the said mahr (mehir) sooner or later unless his wife forgives him relieves him of it. (Acar,2011:368). An imperative requirement of the Islamic law, mahr is a social and economic guarantee for women. On the other hand, mahr being a compulsory practice is an indicator of the value given to women by Islam as a religion (Akyüz, 2005: 213).

In addition to all these, Islamic forbids Muslim men or women to marry a polytheist, which is to mean that a Muslim man or a woman is not permitted to marry any worshippers of idols who associate partners with Allah or atheists similar to them. Apart from this, it was not forbidden for a Muslim man to marry a non-Muslim (People of the Book/Christian, Jewish) woman, but it was considered makruh whereas it was forbidden for a Muslim woman to marry a non-Muslim man. On the other hand, both in the event that a Muslim man marries a polytheist and that a Muslim woman marries a non-Muslim man, the parties involved would be considered to have abandoned the religion, resulting in the marriage contract being terminated. (Kama, 2013: 687; Cin, 1974, 112-113). In addition to the termination of the marriage contract, if a Muslim woman marries a non-Muslim man, the woman is considered apostate. There are also verses on the subject in the Qur'an, which is the main source of Islamic law.

3. Women and Marriage in Ottoman Society

Marriage is a religious and social institution that ensures the continuation of the society. Marriage is a necessity for every society due to the continuation of the generation and the health of the lineage. During the Ottoman period, marriages were made under the control of the state. Due to the importance of marriage and its effect on social life, making these contracts in accordance with legal

principles and recording practices such as marriage, mahr, divorce, alimony and inheritance, all of which closely related to family law, have been paid close attention to by the state. So much so that the documents of the aforementioned legal transactions were recorded in the Sharia registers and kept under protection (Kurt,2012:448).

3.1. The Situation Before the Tanzimat

Before the Tanzimat period, Islamic law was dominant in the legal system of the Ottoman Empire. Islamic law was applied without any change or adaptation especially in the areas such as family law and personal law (Kama, 2013:695).

As in other Turkish-Islamic states, the phenomenon of marriage in the Ottoman Empire started with a request for a girl's hand in marriage and ended with engagement and marriage. This situation was arranged by taking into account the customary understanding and the rules derived from custom (örf) as well as the requirements stipulated by Islam (Ercöşkun, 2010: 9). Establishing the first step into marriage, engagement mostly meant the process of the parties' getting to know one another and making preparations for marriage. However, the engagement did not have to be made in the presence of the kadi or the imam; in that, engagement in the Ottoman Empire was not recorded as it did not have a formal aspect. After the engagement, the marriage contract was made by the free will of the parties themselves, or their parents, or by their proxies. There is very limited information in the existing sources about how the marriage contract was made before the Tanzimat (Ercöşkun, 2010: 12-14). From the foundation of the Ottoman Empire to the Kanuni period, women and men who were going to marry had to get authorized permission, which were official documents given to imams by qadis or qadi regents. Obtaining permission from the qadi or naib for marriage was a legal practice that is in accordance with the customary law, and was not present in the sharia (şer'i) law. Even though the permission of the qadi was not obligatory in the early days of the Ottoman Empire, in practice, the marriages were performed in the presence of the qadi or by the imams upon the permission of the qadi. In the case of the qadi participating in the marriage contract, a document called "Hujjat of Nikah" was prepared (Kama, 2013: 695-696; Cin, 1974: 282).

3.2 The Announcement of the Tanzimat and the Aftermath

With the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Tanzimat on November 3rd, 1839, some reforms were made in the field of law, as in many other fields. After the proclamation of the Tanzimat, there was an edict issued in 1841 regarding

some marriage issues. Young girls and divorced women who didn't have the permission of their guardians to get married were allowed to marry with the permission of qadi with the proclamation of the aforementioned edict. However, after Tanzimat, the first serious intervention of the state in the field of marriage took place with the Register of Population (*Sicili Nüfus Nizamnamesi*) dated September 2, 1881. According to article 33 of the regulation, Muslims who were going to marry would get permission from the Sharia court (Şer'iye) court, and non-Muslims would get permission from their religious leaders. The imam or religious official who solemnized the marriage was held responsible for informing the registry office that the marriage took place within fifteen days at the latest from the date of the marriage, and in the event that the responsibility was not fulfilled, those who failed to do so would be fined (Cin, 1974: 287-288).

In another ruling of the Council of State (Şurayı Devlet) dated 18 December 1884, it was stated that the court should make a regulation in order to report the imam who solemnized a marriage without obtaining permission from the Sharia court and to punish the people in question (Cin, 1974:288). With a law enacted in 1913, a clause was added to the 200th article of the 1858 penal code that was concerned with an imprisonment between three months and six months to be foreseen for imams who perform marriages without a permit. In 1914, this amount was changed between one month and six months; however, it was stated that this time, the parties who signed the marriage contract could be sentenced to imprisonment between two months and one year. In 1916, benefiting from the views of various sects, women were granted the right to leave by applying to the court for certain reasons (Kama, 2013: 697-698).

With the Tanzimat, marriage was encouraged through the relationship between welfare and development and population, bride price was abolished, abductions were banned, and some measures were taken to prevent marriage expenses (Yurt, 2019: 7). While the positive results of the actions that had been taken were received more easily among non-Muslims, they gave slower results in Muslims. Additionally, although the issue of marriage seems to be the result of the westernization efforts that started with the Tanzimat, when we look at the regulations in general, it is seen that the basis of the improvements lies in the concerns that the population is decreasing (İbiş, 2017:8).

3.4. Reforms Made in the Field of Marriage in the Light of the 1917 FLD (Family Law Decree/Hukuku Kararnamesi, HAK)

One of the last examples of the legalization movements that started shortly after the proclamation of the Tanzimat Edict in the Ottoman Empire was the Family

Law Decree FLD (HAK) dated 25 October 1917 (Aydın, 1998: 314). HAK is a decree consisting of two books and 157 articles bearing the titles of marriage and dissolution of marriage (Baygın, 2016: 455).

HAK, which is the decree that came into view during the stage of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, was issued towards the end of the First World War, and it has an important place not only in the history of Ottoman law, but also in the history of Islamic law. For, for the first time, with HAK, the rules regarding the marriage and divorce of Ottoman citizens belonging to different religions were brought together with some changes. The aforementioned decree brought about great reforms in some matters in accordance with Islamic law. With HAK, engagement was deemed as a legal procedure, a new limit was set for the age of marriage, the marriage license of the mentally ill was abolished, and new regulations such as the restriction of polygamy and the declaration of marriage were made (Yurtseven, 2003: 208).

HAK also brought about an obligation for men and women to complete a certain age, on the condition that they have the capacity to marry. With the decree, it was stipulated that the man and woman who were to marry for the first time must be 18 years old and the woman 17 years old in order to get married. Thus, the permission of the parents in the marriages of people who had reached the mentioned age was also revoked. According to the decree, a man could marry a second wife only if the first wife allowed it. Another reform took place in terms of mental patients. While according to Islamic law, mental patients can also marry, HAK included the provision that mental patients cannot marry unless it is compulsory. Moreover, in Islamic law, while the marriage contract was effectuated at the desired place and time, HAK made it compulsory to take place in the presence of the judge or the regent. According to the decree, it was stated that marriages made without state permission would not be recognized by law. On the other hand, it was aimed to investigate whether or not there was a situation that prevented marriage by introducing the condition of declaring the situation before the marriage contract. Additionally, it is seen that the decree gives women the right to divorce in some cases. To explain, in the event that men had some physiological disorders or mental illnesses, or the men were unable to provide for the house, along with the case of incompatibility, women were entitled to the right to file for divorce (Kurnaz, 1991: 60; Kama, 2013:700; Konan,2016:330).

Although the Family Law Decree had some shortcomings, it was a decree that filled an important gap in the field of Islamic-Ottoman family law and

included many reforms. However, the aforementioned decree was repealed with the Decree on the Abolition of the Family Law Decree (*Hukuk-ı Aile Kararnamesinin Lağvı Hakkında Kararname*) dated 19 June 1919 (Yurtseven, 2003: 220).

4. Marriage Restrictions in the Ottoman Empire

The millet system, which was established by the Ottoman Empire as *sui generis*, was defined as the “religious belonging environment of the family”. In the Ottoman Empire, the most important issue was the protection of the family and its integrity. So much so that the division of the person’s estate at the birth, marriage and death of the individual was shaped according to the congregational control and law.

Loyalty and belonging in Ottoman society was mostly concerned with the nation and community to which they belonged rather than the state. Briefly, the millet system consisted of the “*religious, cultural and ethnic continuity*” of the communities and the “*administrative, economic, and political*” integration of the state. Before the Tanzimat, the Ottoman millet system and the institution of marriage continued without any change. In the 19th century, marriage became a legal treatment, and subject, in other words, nationality began to be taken into account in marriage.

The rule in the Ottoman Empire was “*not to give girls in marriage to foreign populace*”. As a result of the perception of women as the main element of the society and the developments in the concept of nationality in the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that the prohibition that prevented Muslim women from agreeing their hand in marriage to a non-Muslim husband was transferred from religion to nationality (Yurt, 2019:11-12).

The Code of Nationality of Osmaniye (Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunu, TOK) of 1869, which will be discussed in detail below, was drawn up on the basis of the nationality of the person, and thus, some restrictions were imposed on the institution of marriage. However, it should be noted that even before TOK, women of Ottoman nationality were forbidden to marry foreign nationals.

4.1. Ban on Marriage with Iranians in the Ottoman Empire

Marriage with Iranians was banned with a command (buyruldu) dated January 5, 1822, during the reign of Mahmut II. In the aforementioned command, it was announced that “some of those ahl-i Islam (ehl-i İslam) who make marriages

with Iranians and those of unknown ancestry around Istanbul and its environs, those who give permission to such marriages, and the neighborhood imams will be punished on the grounds that the ignorant people have thus inclined towards the Shiite (Şii) and Rafidhi (Rafizi) sects. In the continuation of the commanded, it was emphasized that the prohibition of marriage was twofold, with the phrase “who gave and *received a daughter in marriage to such an unknown ancestry*” (Serbestoğlu, 2012: 215). However, since archival records of marriages with Iranians have not been reached after this date, it is not known exactly how the Ottoman administration acted in the event of the emergence of these marriages.²³

The first record of the Ottoman Empire’s ban on Marriages to Iranians in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives dates back to 1850. In the aforementioned record, it is seen that a letter was sent to the Governor of Rumelia to allow the wife and son of Ibrahim, who is an Iranian national and got married in Manastır, to go to Dersaadet (BOA, 33/148,A}MKT.MVL 3rd of November, 1850). In the fatwa published by the Fetvahane in 1861, Ottoman women, who belonged to the Sunni sect, were allowed to marry ahl-i sunnah (ehl-i sünnet) men if their parents allowed it (BOA, 142/2, HR. İD., 14th of November 1861). İD., 14th of November 1861). In the record dated April 26, 1873, it was stated that a contract would be drawn up on the treatment that would be applied in case of Iranians disposing of real estate and marrying women of Ottoman nationality (BOA, 142/3, HR.ID., 26 April 1873).

After a long interval of 52 years, the Ottoman Empire published a regulation dated October 7, 1874, and reinforced the ban on marriage with Iranians. Regulation on the Preservation of the Ban on Marriages of Ottoman Nationals with Iranian Nationals (*Teba-i Devlet-i Aliyye ile Teba-i İraniyenin İzdivacı Haklarında Olan Memnu’iyetin Muhafazasına Dair Nizamname*) consisted of three articles. In the first article of the regulation, it was set forth that it was strictly forbidden to marry Iranians as it has been in the past; and in the second article, it was set forth that those who were authorized to perform the marriage despite the ban would be held responsible. In the third article of the regulation, it was set forth that in the case that a woman of Ottoman nationality married a man of Iranian nationality, despite the fact that it was

23 In his doctoral thesis entitled “*The Banning of Sunni-Shia Marriages in the Ottoman Empire: A Study on Ideologies*”, Kern argues that the ban on intermarriage with Iranians actually began in 1512. It is possible that this claim stemmed from the Sunni and Shiite sectarian divide in the 16th century, when Ottoman-Iranian relations became tense (Erçoşkun, 2010: 142).

forbidden, the women and children born would remain Ottoman subjects despite the 1869 Ottoman Nationality Law, and these children would be required to do military service and that they would be held responsible for the duties of that sort (TBMM Kütüphanesi, DDC: 000.21, C:4,/ 614). While the regulation dated 1874 supported the command published in 1882, the fact that religions and sects were not mentioned shows that the ban on marriage with Iranians also applies to non-Muslim Ottoman nationals.

After the regulation came into force, the question of what would be the fate of such marriages made before the regulation came into minds. Accordingly, it is understood from the Grand Vizier's Order on March 26, 1875, that the situation of Ottoman women married to men of Iranian nationality and their children would be treated in accordance with the third article in the regulation; that is, the mother and the children would be considered as Ottoman nationals and would be held responsible for all applicable military and tax liabilities (Ercoşkun, 2010:147). Another problem that emerged shortly after the regulation came into force was the issue of exempting the child born from the marriage of Ottoman women and Iranian men from military service in the Ottoman Empire. However, it was announced that this issue would be concluded later (BOA, I..MMS, 53/2372, 4 December 1875).

Iran, wanting to increase its influence over the Ottoman subjects, immediately objected to the ban. This conclusion can be drawn from the letter sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Iran to the Ottoman Embassy in Tehran. The letter stated that it would not be possible to implement such a ban without the approval of the Iranian State (BOA, HR.TO.,104/29,24 July 1879). As a response, Ottoman Empire notified that the ban was only "*limited to the marriage of women of Ottoman nationality with men of Iranian nationality*". Ottoman Empire's decision to reduce the ban only to Muslim women stemmed from the desire to prevent the issue from becoming an international problem with Iran's efforts to do so. Furthermore, since the term "tebaa-i Osmaniye" was mentioned in the letters sent by the Ottoman State to the provinces regarding the ban, the question of whether the aforementioned ban also included Ottoman non-Muslims was asked many times (Serbestoğlu, 2012:216).

Despite the ban that Ottoman Empire transferred into practice, it is observed that women of Ottoman nationality continued to get married to men of Iranian nationality. For instance, in a record dated 10th of August, 1881, it is seen that a twelve-year-old girl by the name of Zehra, daughter of Emine Hanım, who were immigrants from Edirne and resided in Üsküdar, was married to a man by

the name of Şekerci Sadık, an Iranian citizen. Their marriage was solemnized by an Iranian “ahudu”²⁴. In the continuation of the article, the ban on marriage with Iranians was mentioned, and due to the fact that the wedding night did not take place even though the marriage was solemnized, it was requested to annul the marriage and to punish the “ahundu” who solemnized the marriage (BOA, HR.UHM, 228/78, 10 August 1882). In the letter dated 26 May 1887 sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was notified by a person named Cabbar that the marriage of Ottoman immigrant by the name of Ayşe Hanım and an Iranian man by the name of Şalcı Yusuf Ağa was solemnized in spite of the ban. In the article, what was also informed that the necessary action would be taken against the imam and the headman of the neighborhood, along with and especially Ayşe Hanım, and that such type of marriage was strictly forbidden, and there would be repercussions for those who did not comply with the ban (BOA, DH.MKT., 1423/20, 28 Mayıs 1887). In another letter dated 3rd of December 1887 sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was stated that a woman by the name of Tuti Hatun and an Iranian man by the name of Abdullah, residing in the Pepeli Village of Adana Karataş District, got married with the permission of the Adana Iranian Consulate and through the Iranian Hacı Mahdi, and it was requested that necessary action be taken about the people responsible for the marriage. What was also highlighted in the said letter was the prevention of these marriages that were still continuing despite the ban (BOA, DH.MKT, 1467/ 95, 4 December 1887). In the letter dated 25 April 1889 sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Security, it was stated that two Iranian men who reside at the Hatap Gate by the names of Halil Ağa and Halil bin Kasım married women of Ottoman nationality, and therefore those responsible must be punished. In another record dated March 31, 1888, sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was stated that a woman of Ottoman nationality by the name of Seher Hanım, who resided in Haseki, married an Iranian man by the name of Mahmud Bey, and that the necessary action against the action that violated the ban of marriage between the Ottoman and Iranian (BOA, DH.MKT, 1498/25, 1 April 1888). In addition, on July 31, 1888, it was requested that it be declared in mosques that women of Ottoman nationality were forbidden to marry Iranians (BOA, DH.MKT, 1527/27, 31 July 1888).

24 Ahundu is a title given to clergy in Iran and means teacher and master.

From the records retrieved from the archives, it is seen that people from Iran were allowed to become Ottoman citizens. According to a letter sent to the Governorship of Hudavendigâr, an Iranian national by the name of Abdullah Bey asked for permission to marry a woman of Ottoman nationality. (BOA, A}MKT.UM., 318/17, 6 July 1858). On the other hand, it is seen in the event that a man of Iranian nationality married a woman of Ottoman nationality, it resulted in his losing his Iranian nationality. An example of this was found in a letter dated January 10, 1895. According to the letter, a man by the name of Rıza Bey, who is an Iranian national and a “tünbeki” tradesman, married a woman of Ottoman nationality, and thus, lost his Iranian nationality. In the continuation of the letter, Rıza Bey was recorded to have requested to become an Ottoman citizen and to have asked about what the necessary action for such process was (BOA, DH.MKT, 335/13, 20 January 1895).

As stated above, the prohibition of marrying Iranian men in the Ottoman Empire was not only in place for Muslim women, but also for non-Muslim women. However, it is necessary to state that there is uncertainty about non-Muslims while the law gives clear provisions on the marriage of Muslim Ottoman women. For instance, in a letter dated 22 October 1889 sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, it was asked whether the ban on marrying Iranian men included non-Muslim Ottoman women (BOA, DH.MKT, 1668/103, 23 October 1889). Thereupon, it was stated that it would be appropriate for the decision to be made by the Council of State. On the other hand, in an archive record dated March 5, 1890, Christian women were asked to be exempted from the ban on Ottoman women marrying Iranians. Nevertheless, in reference to the decision made by Majlis-i Vala (Meclis-i Vala) dated April 18, 1886, it was established and emphasized that the ban was valid for all Ottoman women (BOA, MV.,52/3, 5 March 1890). In later times, it is seen that the issue of banning non-Muslim Ottoman women from marrying Iranians was repeatedly brought up (BOA, BEO, 4481/336074, 22 August 1917). Later, in September 1917, it was stated that just as Ottoman Muslim women were forbidden to marry Iranian men, it was also forbidden for non-Muslim Ottoman women to marry Iranians. The marriage of non-Muslim Ottoman women with Iranian men also opened the door to inheritance debates. An example of this is that upon the death of one of the residents of İskenderun Karperdazi in Iran, Hananya Bey, his wife and children, who were of Ottoman nationality, applied to the Iranian Embassy regarding the inheritance (BOA, HR.UHM, 8/12, 21 July 1892).

Additionally, as mentioned before, in the third article of the regulation issued on October 7, 1874, even though it was strictly forbidden for a woman of Ottoman nationality to marry a man of Iranian nationality, it was stated that women and children born would be considered Ottoman nationals and these children would be held responsible for military service and similar duties. It is seen that there were objections to the decision of the said regulation on this issue. According to the Law on Recruitment enacted on October 25, 1886, children born from Ottoman women to Iranian men would be obliged to do military service. However, with the *Irade-i Seniyye* decision in 1888, the sons of Ottoman women who were married to Iranians and born before the law in 1886 were exempted from military service (Reyhan, 2021: 441).

Despite the said decision, it has been observed that some people still strived for the exemption of their children from military service. For instance, an Iranian national by the name of Sarı Mehmed, after stating that he had married to a woman of Ottoman nationality by the name of Emine in Ankara, he requested that his children from the said woman to be exempted from military service. (BOA, DH.MKT, 1801/75, 21 January 1891). Moreover, not long before the First World War started, a law dated May 12, 1914, was enacted. This law clearly emphasized that the children born from the marriages of Ottoman women with Iranian men be responsible for military service, thus abolishing the provision regarding military service dated 1888 (Reyhan, 2021:441).

As a response to the Ottoman Empire's ban on marrying Iranian nationals, Iran constantly tried to lift the ban, but was unsuccessful. However, at the beginning of the 20th century, there were important developments regarding the abolishment of the said ban. The letter sent from the Iranian Embassy to the Ottoman Empire on April 1, 1914 has a particular importance in the abolishment of the ban. On June 9, 1915, a temporary draft law was prepared on the marriage of Ottoman women with Iranian nationality, but it was not formalized. The prohibition of marrying Iranians continued to be in force for a while during the Republican period as well. Since the continuation of the ban was not deemed appropriate on March 25, 1925, a draft law was prepared to abolish the said ban, and the ban on marrying Iranians was abolished in the following year, on May 5, 1926 (Aybay, 1980: 71; Yurt, 2019: 84).

5. The Code of Nationality of *Osmaniye*

Throughout the reign of the Ottoman Empire, there had always been significant legal status differences between the people living in the lands of the empire and

the nationals of the empire based on whether or not they were Muslim. In fact, these differences manifested themselves in matters such as the recruitment of individuals to the state service, taxes and personal status, and they were also reflected in the regulations on nationality (Aybay, 1980: 63).

The search for non-Muslim citizens in the Ottoman society to benefit from the capitulations by transferring to foreign state nationality caused the need for the Ottoman Empire to bind the nationality issue to a serious legal order (Polat, 2011: 135). With a later regulation that was issued, foreign states would be prevented from misusing the privileges they had gained through capitulations, and foreign states' intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire would be prevented as well (Ercoskun, 2010: 141). Taking these aims into consideration, on 23rd of January, 1869, The Code of Nationality of Osmaniye (TOK/Tabiiyyet-i Osmaniyye Kanunnamesi) was promulgated as the first citizenship law of the Ottoman Empire (Lama, 2013: 703). Mostly influenced by the 1851 French Nationality Law when being prepared, TOK consisted of 9 clauses. The clauses of TOK included the following changes.

First Clause: An individual whose mother or father was an Ottoman national would be recognized as an Ottoman national.

Second Clause: Individuals born in Ottoman lands, regardless of their mother not being an Ottoman national, would be able to request and apply for an Ottoman citizenship within three years after coming of age.

Third Clause: An individual who was not of Ottoman nationality but was of age would be able to become an Ottoman citizen by applying to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in person or through a person on the condition that the individual had resided in the Ottoman lands for five years.

Fourth Clause: Some individuals who did not fulfill the necessary conditions to become Ottoman nationals would be able to obtain Ottoman citizenship exceptionally.

Fifth Clause: Individuals who changed their nationality while they were formally citizens of the Ottoman Empire would be treated as foreigners starting from the date they changed their nationality, but an individual who became a foreigner without obtaining permission from the Ottoman administration would be treated as a foreigner starting from the date they changed their nationality. The actions of these people who changed their nationality without permission would be deemed invalid.

Sixth Clause: Individuals who changed their nationality without being authorized or who served military service abroad could declare their Ottoman

citizenship off on the condition that Ottoman Empire allowed them to do so. These individuals would also be banned from returning to Ottoman lands.

Seventh Clause: A woman who married a foreigner while she was an Ottoman citizen would be allowed to switch back to Ottoman nationality if she applied to do so within three years from the date of her husband's death. The status of the woman's right of disposition on real estate and land would be subject to the Public Regulations and Codes (Nizamat ve Kavanin-i Umumiyesi).

Eighth Clause: Individuals who did not possess an Ottoman citizenship would continue to remain in the Ottoman nationality without being subject to their father's nationality, regardless of how small their children were. Even if the child of the foreigner who had entered the Ottoman nationality was small, he would not be subject to his father's nationality and would be considered as a foreigner.

Ninth Clause: Everyone residing in the territory of the Ottoman Empire would be considered an Ottoman citizen; however, if an individual claimed that they were of a different national, these people would have to prove their claims. (Grand National Assembly of Turkey, DDC: 000.21, C:1/16-18; Özgüroğlu, 2011:205).

With the enactment of TOK, Muslims and non-Muslims were subjected to the same status and benefited from the same regulation for the first time in an Islamic state (Kama, 2013: 703). Inevitably, there were negative feedback from other Islamic states to the enactment of the Ottoman Nationality Law, which was the first nationality regulation that was not based on the religious principles in the Islamic world. Having assumed that their privileges as states would have been affected adversely, some states made objections to the law with some excuses. While some states made their objections on the grounds that the aforementioned law was not compatible with the international law, some others expressed their concerns about whether or not the law would be applied retrospectively. The Ottoman State, then, declared that the law was not retroactive, and the concerns were completely unfounded. Whereas Russia and Greece were not satisfied with this statement, France and Austria were among the states that supported the Ottoman State (Serbestoğlu, 2011: 207).

The rule of the separation of the religion and nationality that was accepted with TOK was preserved constitutionally with the "1876 The Ottoman Basic Law" (1876 Kanun-u Esasiye). In Ottoman Basic Law the first constitutional law of the Ottoman State, dated 1876, it was made clear that the state aimed not to discriminate between religion and sect and to avoid arbitrary practices

in gaining and losing nationality with the following statement: “*Everyone, regardless of their religion or sect, is considered Ottoman and the title of Ottoman will be added to their register according to the conditions specified by the law on the condition that these peoples are in the shelter of Ottoman State*” (*Devlet-i Osmaniye tabiiyetinde bulunan efradın cümlesine herhangi bir din ve mezhepten olur ise olsun bila istisna Osmanlı tabir olunur ve Osmanlı sıfatı kanunen muayyen olan ahvale göre istihsal ve izae edilir*) (Polat, 2011: 135). Additionally, during the period in which TOK was in force, only in 1916, when the First World War was still ongoing, the sixth article was amended with the addition consisting of four paragraphs (Osmanağaoğlu, 2003:185). The Turkish Citizenship Law dated 1869 remained in force for five more years after the proclamation of the Republic and was repealed with the adoption of the Turkish Citizenship Law No. 1312, dated 23 May 1928 (Polat, 2011: 143).

6. Marriage of Ottoman Women with Foreign Men

According to the Law of the Ottoman Nationality of 1869, an Ottoman woman who married a foreign man lost her Ottoman nationality. What should be noted immediately here is the fact that even before the The Code of Nationality of Osmaniye (TOK/Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunu) Ottoman women were not allowed to marry foreigners according to the Ottoman Law. However, non-Muslim populace who were included in the Ottoman millet system were considered Ottoman nationals (Osmanağaoğlu, 2003: 74).

The seventh clause of the The Code Of Nationality of Osmaniye dated 1869 did not distinctly state that in the event that a woman of Ottoman nationality married a foreign man, she would lose her citizenship status. However, it was stated that if the woman petitioned within three years after the death of her husband, she could return to her Ottoman citizenship (Osmanağaoğlu, 2003: 224). As a result, the aforementioned article implied that in the case of an Ottoman woman marrying a foreigner man, she would be marked as of the same nationality of her husband. For instance, in a record dated January 9, 1895, a woman of Ottoman nationality by the name of Madam Luis Lindel was considered of Swedish nationality in accordance with the The Code of Nationality of Osmaniye after having gotten married to a man of Swedish nationality (BOA, HR.İD., 111/23, 9 January 1895).

What is more, in the seventh article of the same law, giving the right to return to a woman after the death of her husband shows that it was done in

order to prevent the woman from becoming stateless. In the following years, the Ottoman State is seen to have reminded this situation again. For example, in a letter exchange dated 1869 between the Department of Nationality and the Editorial Office of Nationality (Tabiiyet Müdüriyeti and Tabiiyet Kalemi), the seventh article of the The Code of Nationality of Osmaniye (Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye Kanunu) was emphasized and it was stated that women of Ottoman nationality who married a foreigner could return to their original nationality within three years after the death of their husbands. In the same letter, it was indicated that foreigner women who were married to men of Ottoman nationality were allowed to switch to their original nationality in the event that the parties got divorced (BOA,HR.İD., 114/22,26 February 1900/ BOA, HR.İD., 114/26, 11 June 1909). The point that draws attention here is that while an Ottoman woman was given the right to transfer to Ottoman nationality after marrying a foreign man only after the death of her husband, a foreign woman married to an Ottoman nationality was given the right to return to her original nationality in the case of divorce.

In addition, the seventh article of the Ottoman Nationality Law dated 1869 stated that the status of women's right to dispose of real estate and land would be subjected to Public Regulations and Codes (*Nizamat ve Kavanin-i Umumiyesi*). Undoubtedly, in order to understand the purpose and meaning of this provision, it would be useful to take the laws enacted in the aforementioned period into account. While TOK announced that those who left their Ottoman nationality with permission and became foreign nationals would be regarded as "foreigners". It also established that the new nationality of those who left their Ottoman nationality without permission would not be acknowledged by the Ottoman State. Additionally, the individuals that belonged to the second category would not be allowed to step foot into the Ottoman lands. However, with the law enacted in 1867, two years before the TOK was issued, Ottoman nationals were granted the right to acquire real estate in the same way. In addition to that, in the first article of the aforementioned law, those who were Ottoman nationals and who subsequently changed their nationality were excluded from this provision. The issue was clarified with a law enacted in 1883. It was stated that people who changed their nationality without obtaining permission from the Ottoman Empire and whose Ottoman nationality had been discarded would be deprived of their right to own property and inheritance in the Ottoman Empire. Taking this into consideration, it can be concluded that Ottoman women who married foreigners were deprived of their right to own property and inheritance in the Ottoman country. This issue caused some hesitations in the practice, resulting in various regulations and memorandums being issued (Aybay, 1980: 68).

According to the archives, in the event that an Ottoman woman married a man of another nationality, the question of what would happen to the woman's property, land, etc. that were in the Ottoman country was asked continuously to the Ottoman authorities. The records in the archive show us that if an Ottoman woman married a foreign man, she would lose her right to dispose of her property in the Ottoman lands (BOA,HR.HMŞ.İŞO, 168/16, 6 April 1886; BOA, HR.UHM, 253/68,30 March). 1887). It is observed that this situation was perceived variously. A record dated March 14, 1891 illustrated that the decisions made by the *Majlis-i Vukela* regarding the real estate practice of women who married foreigners had many drawbacks and that the issue should be discussed again. Nonetheless, it is understood that the issue was not overcome in the following years either. An archive record dated March 10, 1892 showed in the context of real estate they owned, the status of the Ottoman women who married foreign man would be renegotiated and decided (BOA, DH.MKT, 1930/ 120, 10 March 1892). In another record dated June 19, 1911, an instance where what type of procedures were to be followed in the context of an Ottoman woman's shares in a ship after her marrying a Greek man was shown. The record stated that according to the Naval Law, a woman who married a foreign man could not have a share in Ottoman ships because she automatically assumed the nationality of the man she married. In accordance with this statement, the record stated that it would be appropriate to confiscate the woman's share in the ship (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO, 120/ 66, 19 June 1911).

Another question related to this issue was whether or not the real estates could be passed on to their children or relatives as a result of the death of an Ottoman woman who married a foreigner. In a record dated 1887, it is stated that such an inheritance was not possible since the person who married a foreigner assumed nationality of his spouse and his children would be considered foreign nationals (BOA, HR.UHM, 253/68, 30 March 1887). A similar situation was reflected in another archive record dated 27 November 1892. In the said record, it was reported that a woman of Ottoman nationality by the name of Yani lost her life while she was married with a man of Greek nationality by the name of Penayot, and that Yani's siblings were requesting right to inheritance of Yani's estate in Heybeliada. According to the record, the situation was discussed in the *Majlis-i Vükela* and it was decided that the relatives of the deceased Yani should be deprived of inheritance, since "a woman marrying a foreigner is considered to have changed her nationality" (BOA, MV., 72/48, 27 November 1892).

In another record dated June 27, 1895, which was before the The Code of Nationality of Osmaniye came into force, it was discussed whether or not

an Ottoman woman by the name of Eftik, who married a Russian man by the name of Bogos, could claim a right to a share of inheritance from her deceased Ottoman father (BOA, BEO, 646/48432, 27 June 1895). The situation was reviewed in *Majlis-i Vükela*, and the decision was in the favor of Eftik having a right to a share in her deceased father's inheritance due to the fact that the woman had married Bogos before the aforementioned law came into force, and thus, Eftik was to be considered Ottoman and treated as such. As a result, it was concluded that the Eftik should not be deprived of her deceased father's inheritance (BOA, MV., 87/64, 20 Mayıs 1896). According to the Ottoman archives, the correspondences about the subject in general were concerned with the estates after the death of the woman who married a foreigner man. It was debated that whether or not the relatives of the Ottoman woman who married a man of Greek nationality would pass on the land in the Ottoman country. The correspondences showed that the inheritance could not be transferred by referring to the Article 110 of the Land Code (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO, 177/30, 13 May 1892). A similar situation is seen in a record dated 4 December 1897. The said record was concerned with the marriage of an Italian man and a woman by the name of İrini, an Ottoman national and a resident of *Büyükada*. It was stated in the record that as a result of her husband's death, İrini became an Ottoman citizen again, and after İrini lost her life as well, regardless of her returning to Ottoman citizenship, her inheritance would not be passed on to her children (BOA, ŞD., 793/7, 4 December 1897). The most striking point here is undoubtedly the fact that the woman could not benefit from her children's inheritance despite returning to her Ottoman nationality again. Another record found in the archive showed that an Ottoman woman renounced her real estate in the Ottoman country before marrying a foreigner, which means that she gave up on the inheritance on her own will (BOA, BEO, 1252/93854, 5 January 1899).

According to the The Code of Nationality of *Osmaniye* in the event that a woman of Ottoman nationality married a foreign man, she would lose her status as an Ottoman citizen as well as her estates within the country. Conversely, in the event that a foreigner woman married an Ottoman man, she would earn the status as an Ottoman citizen (BOA, HR.İD, 141/41, 18 July 1912). Even though there was no direct or indirect provision in the TOK on this matter, it is seen that the seventh article of the said law was tried to be applied by analogy since a foreigner woman married to a man of Ottoman nationality was also regarded as an Ottoman citizen (Kama, 2013:705). There are many instances of marriages of foreign women to Ottoman men in the Ottoman archives. For

example, in a letter sent to the Berlin Consulate on September 23, 1917, due to the marriage of two women by the names of Madam Navas Elsa and Basi with Ottoman nationals, it was requested that these women be transferred to Ottoman nationality (BOA, HR.HMŞ.İŞO, 74/5, 26 November 1917). In a record dated October 17, 1919, it was stated that since a Romanian national by the name of Katrina Popesko married Ottoman national by the name of İsmail Hakkı Bey, the woman was then considered an Ottoman national and should be treated accordingly. It is seen that there occurred an increase in the marriage of foreign women with Ottoman nationals, especially in the last days of the Ottoman Empire. For example, in a letter sent from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, it was stated that fourteen foreign women married Ottoman men and their documents were requested from the German Consulate (BOA, DH.SN..THR., 85/84, 7 January 1920). Another archive displays that since the a woman of German nationality by the name of Garatel married a man of Ottoman nationality by the name of Arif Hikmet Bey, it was announced that Garatel from then on be considered an Ottoman citizen (BOA, DH,EUM. ECB, 32/42, 27 February 1922). Another record dated March 12, 1922 depicts a case in which a Romanian woman from Constanta married Koçhisarlı Mehmed Şükrü Bey, and from then on, she was considered an Ottoman national (BOA, DH.EUM.ECB, 32/52, 12 March 1922).

7. Conclusion

Ever since the beginning of the history of humankind, marriage has been a topic that is deemed of great significance in every society. While marriage was seen as a social duty in pre-Islamic Turks, celibacy was considered a shame. Marriage, a religious and social institution, was solemnized under the control of the state during the Ottoman period. Before the proclamation of the Edict of Tanzimat, Islamic law was dominant in the legal system of the Ottoman Empire. As it was in other Turkish-Islamic states, the phenomenon of marriage in the Ottoman Empire would start with asking a girl's hand in marriage and would end with the engagement and wedding ceremony. Ottoman State put forward some restrictions that regulated the institution of marriage. For instance, during the reign of Mahmut II, a buyruldu dated January 5, 1822 banned marriage with Iranians. The first record of the prohibition of marriage with Iranians in the Ottoman State was reported to be in the year 1850.

After a long interval of 52 years, the Ottoman Empire issued a regulation on October 7, 1874, and reinforced the ban on marriage with Iranians. Another

regulation issued in the year 1874 also supported the buyruldu that was issued in 1822. However, the fact that religion and sects were not mentioned in the regulation shows that the prohibition of marrying Iranians also applied to non-Muslims in Ottoman society. On the other hand, although the ban on marriage with Iranians seems to cover the entire Ottoman nationality without distinction between men and women, in practice, it shows that the ban was valid for women of Ottoman nationality. Most of the records retrieved from the Ottoman archives show that the ban was practiced solely for women. In the third article of the regulation, which consists of three articles, it was established that if a woman of Ottoman nationality married a man of Iranian nationality despite the prohibition, these women and their children would remain Ottoman citizens despite the The Code Of Nationality of Osmaniye and the boys would be held responsible for military service, etc. However much the Iranian State opposed to the prohibition, the ban stayed in practice for some period of time during the Republican Period, until it was abolished on the 5th of May, 1926.

After the Edict of Tanzimat (Tanzimat Fermanı) was issued on the 3rd of November 1839, along with many other areas, the legal system was faced with many reforms. With Tanzimat, marriage was encouraged through the relationship between welfare and development and population, and measures were taken to prevent expenditures in marriage, along with the prohibition of bride price. On the 23rd of January 1839, The Code Of Nationality of Osmaniye came into force as the Ottoman State's first nationality law. Consisting of nine clauses, the law was prepared with the substantial influence of 1851 French nationality law. With TOK, for the first time in an Islamic state the Muslims and non-Muslims were subjected to the same status before the law and benefited from the same regulations. According to the Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye, which greatly affected the marriages in the Ottoman society, an Ottoman woman who marries a foreign man lost his Ottoman nationality. Moreover, the law brought forth that those women of Ottoman nationality who married a foreigner could return to their original nationality within three years after the death of their husbands, while it was stated that foreign women married to a man of Ottoman nationality could switch to their original nationality in the case of divorce. The law also stated that the status of the woman's right of disposition on real estate and land is subject to the "Nizamât ve Kavanin-i Umumiyesi". Ottoman archive records related to the subject illustrate that if an Ottoman woman married a foreign man, she would lose her right of disposition on her property in the Ottoman lands.

A problem concerned with this issue was whether or not the real estates could be passed on to their children or relatives in the case of the death of an Ottoman woman who married a foreigner. The records also exhibit that such an inheritance would not possible since the Ottoman woman who married a foreigner would automatically assume the nationality of her husband and her children would be considered foreigners as well.

In addition, while in the event that an Ottoman woman married a man of different nationality, she would lose her status of Ottoman citizenship and her estates in the Ottoman land, in the event that a woman of different nationality married a man of Ottoman nationality, she would earn a citizenship from the Ottoman State. The archives show various instances of aforementioned marriages as well. Affecting mostly the women and their marriages, The Code Of Nationality of Osmaniye dated 1869 was in force for five more years after the proclamation of the republic until it was abolished with the adoption of the Turkish Citizenship Law No. 1312 dated May 23, 1928.

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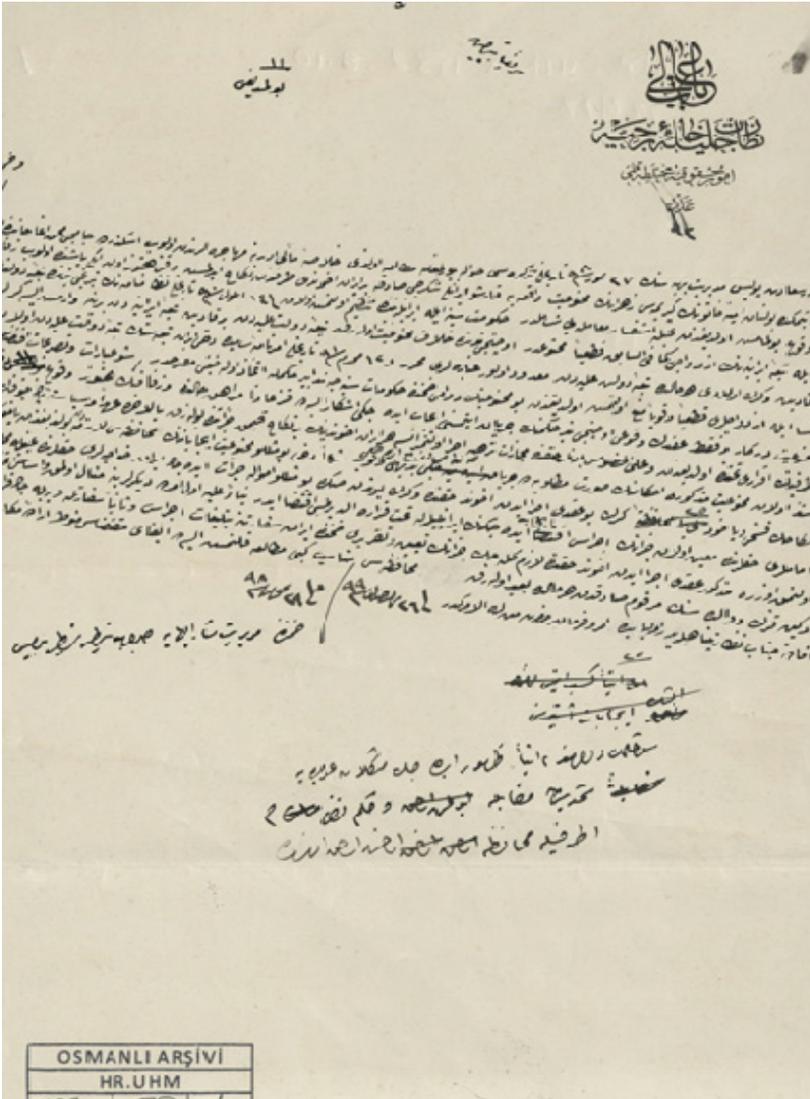
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Appendices



Appendix 1: Example of Archival Record dated 10 August 1882.

CHAPTER VIII

OTTOMAN PUBLIC WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL AREAS FROM FOUNDATION TO TANZIMAT ERA

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1. Introduction

Under the influence of the living conditions in the pre-Islamic Turkish culture, women have struggled for life together with men in almost every field. This situation has been one of the basic elements of the equal treatment of men and women in the ancient Turks. This situation of women in the ancient Turks continued during the Seljuk and Ottoman foundation periods. However, it is not possible to say that women are active at the same level in social life in all periods of Turkish social life. This is owing to the fact that change is a product of the historical process. The changes experienced over time are manifested on the roles of male and female individuals in society. In the historical process, along with the change in living conditions and some other factors, the activities of women in society have also undergone some changes. Therefore, in the later periods of the Ottoman Empire, a number of differences occurred in the appearance of women in public life.

The change in the appearance of women according to the conditions of the time from the past to the present in all societies around the world is a universal situation. However, making a number of explanations far from scientific about the Ottoman woman without taking into account the impact of changing life conditions has prepared the ground for the perception that the Ottoman woman was imprisoned at home. Another factor that causes the Ottoman woman to be perceived as absent in society is that in almost all societies around the world,

women began to be included in historiography very late. Ottoman women also received their share from this deficiency, and women appeared as a faint image in Ottoman historiography. When the Ottoman women's history writing was started, priority was given to outstanding women. For this reason, the place of Ottoman women (women outside the palace in particular) on the historical stage has remained veiled and ambiguous for a long time. Although studies on these areas have increased in recent years, traces of the views put forward for years still remain.

The inadequacy of women's studies before the Tanzimat in Ottoman historiography constitutes an obstacle to understanding the essence of women's position in society. The lack of information about Ottoman folk women before the Tanzimat has prepared the ground for the formation of many discourses about these women that are not based on reality. In order to contribute to the explanation of this issue, it will be tried to present the appearance of the Ottoman public woman in society. In this context, the appearance of the Ottoman folk woman in social life before the Tanzimat will be examined on the axis of family, law, economy and social activities.

2. Factors Affecting the Visibility of Ottoman Women in Society

Since the lives of Ottoman women are not known in detail, various opinions have been put forward about them. One of the views in question is that in the Ottoman Empire, women were isolated from society by being put in veils in special places called harems (Wiesner-Hanks, 2020: 164). However, contrary to this view, it has been reported that some western travelers said that women were not imprisoned in the harem in the Ottoman Empire, they could go outside whenever they wanted. (Davis, 2009:144). Montagu, the lady of the British ambassador who traveled to the Ottoman Empire in the x VII century, mentions that Turkish women lead their lives more freely and freely than women in other countries (Montagu, no date:132).

It is stated that the position of women in the Ottoman Empire is at an inferior level and that there are approaches that attribute the reason for this to the influence of Islam in Ottoman society (Sayarı-Toprak, 1981: 282). The Turks, along with Islam, came under the influence of Arab and Persian culture. Although Islam does not consider women inferior to men, the restriction of the life fields of Turkish women in the Islamic period was attributed to Islam due to the fact that Islam was learned together with the acceptance of Arab and Persian culture before Islam (Günay, 2000: 5-6). As a matter of fact, when we look at

the portrait of women in the Arab geography, it will be seen that before Islam, women were not treated humanely in Arab society, depriving women of many rights that a person should have. A woman was treated as a worthless item, and no limit was set for men to marry more than one woman (Bolelli, 2018: 31). Along with Islam, many rights have been granted to women in the social, economic and legal fields, and the persecution of women that existed before Islam has been called to stop (Aydın, 2001: 86). In addition, it has been reported that men and women are equal in all respects in Islam (Kazici, 2020:59). Hence it can be concluded that Ottoman society gave women new rights while discarding the degrading towards women in Arab society. Conversely, owing to the fact that these aforementioned rights were not practiced properly, resulting in the Turks' subjecting to the degrading practices towards women within society by adapting to the negative customs of Arab and Persian culture. In this regard, the traditions added to Islam later come to the fore among the factors that push the Ottoman woman to a lower level. In this case, Arab and Persian traditions can be shown among the factors affecting the appearance of the Ottoman woman in society.

In ancient Turks, men and women were seen together in almost every area of life. As a matter of fact, according to the pre-Islamic Turks, the idea prevailed that a woman should be her husband's assistant not only at home, but also outside, and when the time came, she should join the war with her husband. (Ögel, 2020: 193). In ancient Turks, it is stated that while women do things such as taming children, taking care of family financial affairs, setting up tents, knitting felt socks, milking and sewing clothes indoors, women play ball with men, wrestle and hunt, ride horses and shoot arrows outdoors (Donuk, 1982:166). Based on this information, it can be understood that women were active in almost every area of society in the ancient Turks. In the early stages after the Turks accepted Islam, it was revealed in the researches that women were active in public life. As a matter of fact, the Seljuks made women feel their presence in both family life and community life as the Turkish societies before them continued their perspective on women. (Kuşçu, 2021: 128) Since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, women have taken an active role in social life. In fact, Baciyan-i Rum Organization founded during the Seljuk period was one of the influential factors in foundation of the Ottoman Empire (Asikpasazade, 1970: 222). Baciyan-i Rum was one of the most important organizations of the Ottoman foundation period and the women belonging to the organization established lodges and thus participated in settlement and colonization activities (Barkan, 1942, 202-

203). This organization shows that Ottoman women took part in many fields. However, this position of the Turkish woman has undergone changes according to the conditions of the period as time has progressed.

It is an undeniable fact that there have been changes in the appearance of Ottoman women in social life over time. The discovery of metals, the breeding of animals, the developments in weaving and field culture have been effective in changing the roles of men and women in Turkish history (Tan, 1979: 164). In addition, cultural interaction and the religion of Islam have also caused changes in the position of women in social, economic and legal terms (Aydın, 2001: 86). It can be said that in the early periods of the Ottoman Empire, men and women had almost the same rights in a family order that provided a living through agriculture and animal husbandry, which had not yet entered a settled life. However, with the transformation of the Ottoman Empire from a principality into a great state and the influence of western institutions, the state was institutionalized within the framework of certain legal rules. This situation has led to the realization of the division of labor between men and women by changing the roles of the spouses in the Ottoman family structure. In the settled city life, women have started to show themselves more in domestic work, while men have started to show themselves in the public sphere (Çilingir, 2002: 480). The period that extends from 13th century to the end of 16th century, which is called Classical Period have witnessed the Ottoman women in the rural areas continuing within the borders of their traditional freedom while women who lived in Istanbul have socioculturally remained under the effect of Islam, Umayyads, Abbasids, and Byzantium (who is Oktar, 1998: 18-19).

In general, the Ottoman social structure was shaped by Iranian, Arab and Byzantine influences, as well as influences from the old Turkish society and Islamic influences. The circumstances in question have also affected the woman's situation in society (Kavuncu, 1999: 144). From this, it can be understood that many factors have been effective in changing the visibility of women in society since the foundation of the Ottoman Empire. However, despite these changes that Ottoman women have undergone, when we look at the Western society of the period, it has been emphasized that the financial freedom of Ottoman women is much greater than that of women in the west (İpşirli, 1998: 58).

3. Reflection of Legal and Economic Rights of Ottoman Women on Social Fields

In Ottoman society, in general, roles outside the home for men and roles inside the home for women were considered appropriate (Cin, 1974: 195). In this

context, in the process from the institutionalization of the Ottoman Empire to the Tanzimat period, women have come to the fore in the institution of the family, which is more of a private area. In the Ottoman Empire, marriage was established according to the elements of Islamic law. In this context, the marriage relationship between couples in the Ottoman Empire becomes valid with the marriage contract (Cin-Akyılmaz, 2017: 369). Dec. When the marriage is performed, the man must give his wife a certain property or cash money under the name of dowry. (Jin, 1988: 210). The right to dowry has been an important economic guarantee for women. Women's dowry rights have been raised, especially in cases of divorce (GSS103, 1746: 149-B2). The marriage relationship started with the specification of the dowry of the woman and the legitimate unification of the lives of the man and woman with their own consent (Atar, 2007: 114). A girl who came of age in the Ottoman Empire could not be forcibly married, with exceptions. Girls who have reached the age of puberty have performed their marriages in the direction of their own wishes (DSS 3712, 1797:55-b1), and little girls who have not reached the age of puberty have performed their marriages by the decision of their parents GSS 73, 1721:32-b2). In the examples reflected in the Ottoman court records, the consent of the underage girl had to be for the marriage. Otherwise, the underage girl was able to annul the marriage performed on her behalf by freely applying to the court (DŞS 3712, 1797:55-b1). In the Ottoman court records, it was found that the consent of the girl to be married was observed, and in cases where the girl did not consent to the marriage, the girl freely applied to the court for the annulment of the marriage. This situation in the court records is a clear proof that girls cannot be legally forced into marriages they do not want in the Ottoman Empire.

After the establishment of the family in the Ottoman Empire, the right of married couples to enter into a dispute and terminate the marriage was mostly given to men. In Islamic law, a woman may request that the right to divorce be granted to her before marriage, if a woman has not exercised this right before the marriage contract, the right to divorce after marriage belongs to the man (Bilmen, 1988: 220; Aydın, 2018: 110.) Therefore, if the right to divorce was not granted to the woman before marriage, the decision at the stage of terminating the marriage was left to the man's preference. However, many archival documents also show that women can divorce their husbands by agreement (GSSH 55, 1709:61-b2) or by a judge's decision for various reasons (GSSH 52, 1704: 129-b2) in order to terminate the marriage they do not want. Undoubtedly, these practices are aimed at preventing women from experiencing victimization.

According to Islamic law, while it is possible for a man to have more than one marriage, monogamy was preferred in marriages in the Ottoman Empire (Tabakoğlu, 1992:93). Haim Gerber found that 5% of the shar'iyeh registries in Bursa have more than one spouse. (Gerber, 1988:327). In the research conducted on the heritages belonging to the Edirne Military caste, the polygamy rate was determined as 7% (Barkan, 1966: 14). In another study, the marriage status with more than one woman in the Ottoman family is 10% (Demirel-Gürbüz-Tuş, 1992: 102). These findings show that polygamy was not highly regarded by the society in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the fact that marriage with more than one woman at the same time is not a reason for much preference can be associated with the value given to women in the Ottoman Empire.

In Islamic law, the husband is obliged to provide all the economic needs of his wife and her children born to her, that is, their alimony (Özcan, 19 Jul 1996: 19). If the husband was negligent in covering the expenses of his wife and children, the woman could apply to the court and request alimony from her husband through the court for herself and her children, if any. (Karaman, 1986:246). If the husband did not provide alimony to the wife, the woman can apply to the court and report this situation, the judge would decide that the man shall pay alimony to the wife. Many women have been identified in the Ottoman Empire who have applied to the court to receive the right to alimony from their husband. For example, Fatima from Ammu neighborhood of Ayıntab applied to the court, informing that her husband Ismail went to another city and left her young son Mehmed and young daughter Halime without alimony and demanded alimony from the court. (GSSH 58, 1119:147-b3). As can be seen in this record, the Ottoman woman applied to the court in order to obtain the right to alimony by not remaining silent in the face of the fact that her husband went to a distant hometown and left his wife and children without alimony. In another example, a woman who was abandoned by her husband at her mother's house, stated that her husband refrained from paying alimony for her and her child, and the court decided to give alimony to both the woman and her child by taking it from her husband (Erkmen, 2005: 437). As a matter of fact, as long as the marriage continues, the man is obliged to provide alimony to the married lady.

In the case of a divorce between a man and a woman, the maintenance of young children after a divorce is usually given to the mother, while the father is obliged to cover the child's alimony. For this reason, divorced women used to request alimony from the father of their children through the court for the economic needs of their minor children who stayed with them after the

separation. After divorce in the Ottoman Empire, many women applied to the court for the alimony of their children of whom they were taking care. (Kartal-Karaboga, 2021: 1857). As a matter of fact, Maryam from the Mullah Ahmed Mosque neighborhood of Ayintab, reported that her husband Hussein divorced her, their young son Ali, who was with her after the divorce needed alimony, and she requested alimony to be taken from the child's father, daily four mites worth alimony was settled for the child (GSSH 53, 1115:253-b2). As can be seen in the archival documents, women in the Ottoman Empire applied to the court for the issue of alimony for various reasons. Women have been processed in court, sometimes for themselves personally, and sometimes for their children. The main point to focus on here is that women have not remained passive on the way to obtaining their rights.

Although the life of the Ottoman woman is mostly missed by the family, that is, the private space, the woman did not hold back from fighting for the law outside if she had family problems. The process of seeking rights for the problems faced by women in the private sphere has often been encountered in court records. These records indicate that the Ottoman woman is aware of her legal rights and is able to act freely in search of decency. In addition, the fact that a woman seeks her right without hesitation in court clearly demonstrates her participation in public life.

Although it is known that some differences have occurred in the social life of women due to the change in living conditions in Turkish history, it will not reflect the truth to suggest that the Ottoman woman has completely stayed behind from public life. Because the court records about the Ottoman women and the researches made based on these records reveal that women were not in a passive position. For example, in one study, it has been stated that more than a third of the founders of foundations in Istanbul in the middle of the 16th century were women and women could own property, and it has been pointed out that this situation is not seen in women in many western societies (Baer, 1983: 10)17. In a study conducted for Kayseri, it was stated that the Ottoman woman is aware of her rights and actively participates in various positions in the court (Jennings, 1973: 169). In the information obtained based on the 17th century Bursa sher'iyee registries, it was mentioned that women freely defend their rights in court and their rights to inheritance and property (Gerber, 1980: 233). In a study conducted on Konya shariyye registries, it was found that as a result of women suing their husbands in court on the grounds that they were unfair to them, their husbands were taken under control (Erten, 2001: 39). These

researches have revealed that the Ottoman public woman was not in a closed position to social life based on archival documents. This information indicates that the Ottoman woman made her presence felt in almost every area of society when necessary.

The Ottoman woman had more rights than many contemporary women. As a matter of fact, while the personal rights of a married woman were protected in Islamic and Ottoman societies, when women were married in England from the Middle Ages to the end of the nineteenth century, they were not considered as a separate individual before the law, and the individual existence of a woman was connected to her husband. In the West, women did not even have the right to sign financial or other matters without their husband's knowledge. For example, since a woman cannot file any lawsuit, when a wrong is done against her own person, she either gets permission from her husband to file a lawsuit against the other party, or her husband should have filed the lawsuit on behalf of the woman (Barin-Akman, 2017: 84-87) 19. Until the middle of the century, in most of the Christian society, the inheritance right acquired by a woman passed to her husband when she married, while an Ottoman woman could also keep the inheritance right in her own hands after marriage (Wiesner-Hanks, 2020: 211). In this context, it can be seen that women in Islamic geography are legally equal to men, albeit to varying degrees, throughout history, both in property rights and in obtaining their rights through the judiciary (Pelizzon, 2020, : 373).

Ottoman women have been active both in the economic field and in the courts (Zarinebaf, 2000: 242). Some women have struggled to seek their rights by showing marital courage (Faroqhi, 2014:9). In the Ottoman Empire, a woman applied to the court using her legal right in matters that she considered unfair. A significant proportion of women seeking rights can be identified in Ottoman court records. In this context, women were able to complain to the court even their fathers when the place came when they were wronged (GSS114, 1756: 139- b1). If women could not get their rights such as dowry and inheritance given to them by the law, they also obtained their rights through the court (Erten: 2001: 77). It is observed that women can be plaintiffs in court not only for themselves, but also for their relatives (GSS53, 1704:27-b1).

Although the Islamic religion does not impose the responsibility of earning money on a woman to support the house, it has not prohibited a woman from working and earning income. Therefore, in the Ottoman Empire, which was shaped by Islamic law, a woman has various rights such as borrowing and engaging in commercial activities, as well as owning property through various

means such as dowry, inheritance, grants. Ottoman women, on the one hand, took care of the care of children in the family, and on the other hand, they were able to engage in economic activities. (Faroqhi, 2014:9). From this point of view, it can be considered that the Ottoman woman has a material and moral important position in the family order.

In the Ottoman Empire, a woman had a legal identity and made various savings with the assets she had in socio-economic life. The woman had the right to save the property she had in her possession in any way she wanted. No one could interfere with her in this matter (Jennings, 1975: 65-66). In this situation, the woman sometimes carried out the sale transaction personally (GSS 73, 1721: 80-b1) and sometimes through a proxy (GSS 55, 1708: 12-b1). 17. In the 17th century, women engaged in silk production in addition to buying and selling, borrowing and trading activities. (Gerber: 1998: 331-334). It has been revealed that women have been involved in various economic activities in Balıkesir in the 17th century (Mutaf, 2002: 79). . It can be determined in the court records that in addition to making various economic purchases, women also engaged in agricultural activities in the 18th century of the Ottoman Empire. It is known that the right to save land in the Ottoman Empire belonged primarily to men. As it is known, if the person who saved the land passed away, but in cases where there was no male child, the right to save was transferred to the daughter. Women used the fields that were transferred to them in various ways (GSSH 73 1722: 146-b1). In this context, some women who had the right to save land in the Ottoman Empire did not remain passive when faced with situations that would prevent them from farming. So much so that they were even able to go to the way of transmitting the injustices they encountered on this path to the state through complaints. (Diyarbakir Ahkam 1, 1743:202-b3). Documents indicating that women have engaged in animal husbandry within the scope of their economic activities have also been found (DSS 3712, : 55, b2; DSS 59, :250, b2). As it is understood, women had economic activities in various fields in the Ottoman Empire. These efforts also made Ottoman women visible in society.

Women were able to meet among themselves in various ways and come together to jointly carry out economic activities. Indeed, reflected in a record three women who had different father names to the Ottoman court jointly to buy a garden, women have established a social relationship among themselves and the influence of these relations suggests that economic investment they made (GSS 87, 1735: 146-b1). There are also traces of their social life in the heritage entries belonging to women who show the assets left behind by people who died

in the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, the fact that it was recorded that a woman who died had lend a non-Muslim man and several women, (GSS 86, 1734: 226-b2) reflects the existence of communication established by women for economic purposes. When talking about the economic activities of women in the Ottoman Empire, it was emphasized that some women, especially those from merchant families, could engage in trade (Jennings, 1975: 195). In addition, it has been mentioned that women give their money to a partner who is a traveling merchant by making a deal called *mudaraba* for commercial purposes and operate it (Faroqhi, 2005:127).

As mentioned above, the fact that women have been engaged in various economic activities also shows that they have had social relations with the people they are shopping with. Therefore, this situation also finds a place in the elements that reveal the roles of women in both economic and social life.

4. Social Activities of Ottoman Women in Social Areas

4.1. Women Founding and Managing Foundations

Foundations have a very important place in Ottoman social institutions. There are women who establish and manage foundations in an institution that is of such importance in society. Women who founded foundations were conferred on the titles such as *sahibetü'l-vakf ve'l-hayrât*, (GSS 75, 1723: 267, b1) *sahibetü'l-hayrât ve'l hasenât* (GSS 75, 1723: 109,b1) while women who managed these foundations were called “*mütevelliye*”. Foundations mainly operate on the notion of social solidarity. As well as serving many areas of social sphere, it also has an essential role in ensuring social unity. In this sense, foundations have contributed a lot in ensuring women’s inclusivity within the society.

Many people who lived in the Turkish society and had financial means have provided fountains and *masjid* to the people who were less privileged than them with the notion that the latter also had a right to their wealth (Baykara, 2021: 300). Similarly, even on the first days of Ottoman Empire, women have founded many foundations as well (Singer, 2004: 104). It has been reported that the first foundation certificate-charter of Ottoman Empire belongs to a woman. The aforementioned woman is the wife of Orhan Gazi, *Asporça Hatun* (Maydaer, 2019: 143-144).

The fact that upper class utilized their wealth in order to help the lower class in various ways points out a profound helping spirit (Kazıcı, 2021: 294). Similarly, there is no obstacle standing between a woman of upper class and

founding a foundation. As a result, these women utilized their wealth in various ways to help the people of lower class.

Foundations established for the benefit of all people or the poor or needy from the origin or income of foundation properties are defined as charitable foundations (Aydın, 2019: 251). These types of foundations can be seen to have been administrated by women. For instance, Ümmü from the Çağal district of Diyarbakir donated her home for the fees and necessary expenses of the Murtaza Pasha Fountain. She wanted the foundation's income to be spent on the poor in Haremeyn-i Şerifeyn in case the fountain became unusable (DŞS 3754, 1741: 292, b1.). It can be seen in the wills of the women that they donated their property. For instance, a woman named Yüzi Kutlu by the Ayıntab district appointed İbrahim Ağa as the guardian upon her death, and İbrahim Ağa then announced that Mrs Yüzi Kutlu had donated half of her house to the el-hac Karaca Masjid al-Sharif in the same neighborhood before she passed away. Another example shows that a woman named Hacı Fatma from Ayıntab district, by donating the vineyards and walnut trees she owned, she stipulated that beeswax was made every year in Ramadan and given to Eyyüboğlu mosque, Ömeriye mosque and Karakaya mosque in İbni Eyyüb neighborhood to be burned in Ramadan, with the remaining income to be cooked and distributed to the poor in Muharram (GŞS 79, 1728: 482-b1). In another instance, we see that women have also donated cooking tools so that the lower class had means to cook (GŞS 75, 1723: 267, b1). A woman who owned a shop wanted the rental income from the shop to be used to cook and feed to the poor in the month of Muharram (GŞS 78, 1726: 134, b3). In this sense, women took on an active role within the society with such activities. As can be seen, women generally donated their wealth to the places where the majority of the population can benefit.

Avarız foundations (Cin and Akgündüz, 2017: 479), which were established in the Ottoman Empire with the aim of using the income of the people of a village or neighborhood, were established to eliminate the problems experienced in cases of urgent need such as fire, earthquake, flood, illness, death (Kazıcı, 2014). : 122-123). In this context, it can be seen that women donated their properties to avarız foundations in the Ottoman Empire (GŞS 79, 1728: 473, b2).

In the Ottoman Empire, various researches were carried out on the establishment of foundations by women. In this context, in a research conducted on women who established foundations in Aleppo under Ottoman rule, 4 of 61 foundations in the 16th century, 21 of 80 foundations in the 17th century, 208

of 561 foundations in the 18th century, 212 of 483 foundations in the first half of 19th century have been determined to be founded by women (Meriwether, 2014: 129). The increase in the number of women establishing foundations in Aleppo shows that women's participation in social life also increased. It has been determined that in the 17th and 18th centuries, there were 1301 foundations founded by women (Zarinebaf-Shahr, 2002: 27). It has been reported that the rate of women who established foundations in Egypt in the 18th century was 25% (Any Fay, 2014: 35). This shows the influence of women in the Ottoman Empire.

As there was no limitation on inheritance and will, the woman could transfer all of her property to the foundation (Any Fay, 2014: 35). In the foundation institution, which is an important social institution in Ottoman society, no distinction was made between men and women. This is thanks to the fact that in the Ottoman Empire, women were able to establish foundations as they wished. Thus, women had a share in ensuring social integration in the society.

In the foundation institution, which is an important institution in the Ottoman society, we also encounter women as administrators. A female foundation administrator was called "mütevelliyeh" (GŞS 90, 1737:220, b1). Ottoman women were able to gain social status by being authorized as foundation administrators. As administrators of foundations, women paid great attention to every detail (GŞS 58, 1708: s.89- b3.). Women who had this duty were sometimes able to deal with the repair works of the foundation and sometimes rent the places belonging to the foundation (GŞS 75, 1723: 151, b1.).

In the Ottoman Empire, there is also a type of adoption foundation that can be transferred from generation to generation in a way that some representatives of the family can benefit from, according to the conditions specified by the endowment, without breaking up family properties among the heirs (Barkan, 1940: 160). As in other types of foundations, no distinction is made between boys and girls in adoption foundations. (Baer, 1983: 33). As a matter of fact, women could also be appointed as trustees (administrators) in foster foundations (AŞS 86, 1734: 259,- b1). For example, sahibü'l hayrat and hasenat İsmail Efendi donated his property and appointed his sister Safiye as trustee. After Safiye, he stipulated that it should be spent on Safiye's children, and then it should be spent on the servants of the Haremeyn-i şerifey (AŞS 90, 1737: 185- b1.). Thus, we can see that women are able to obtain some social opportunities through family foundations.

In the Ottoman Empire, the person who appointed a woman as a trustee could still be a woman. For example, in the 18th century, in a foundation

record belonging to the Ayıntab court, a woman named sahibetü'l hayrat Hadice stipulated that the Qur'an be read every Friday night by donating her house and distributing the income of this house to imams and preachers. The owner of the foundation wanted Emine, whom he had freed, to become the governor of the foundation as long as he was alive (AŞS 52, 1704: 283- b2). It is noteworthy that a freed concubine was appointed as a trustee here. This example shows that a woman who was released from the status of a slave in the Ottoman Empire could also gain the qualification of a manager.

In the adoption foundations, women were able to state in the terms of the foundation that they donate the fields they own and that the properties they donate as long as they live will be at their own disposal, and that they appoint their daughter as trustees after her death, and leave them to their children and their children after her death. This situation was reflected in an Ottoman court record as follows: Nimet Hanım donated her field for the sake of Allah and determined the foundation conditions as follows: As long as she was alive, her property would be at her disposal, and when she died, her daughter Zeliha Hanım should be the trustee, and if she died, her eldest son Abdulbaki Pasha. Afterwards, she wanted her children's children to be trustees from line to line, and to give the foundation's income to the poor of Medina every year (DŞS 3712,1752: 83-b3). As can be seen in this example, the founder woman of the foundation donated her property in a way that her family could benefit from. When there is no one left to benefit from the foundation after the specified family members, it stipulated that the needy should benefit from the foundation.

In the light of the above information, it is seen that women in the Ottoman Empire established foundations for various purposes. While the idea of helping the areas needed by observing the consent of Allah is dominant in foundations established for charitable purposes, it is thought that the aim of the foundation owner's children to live more comfortably is in adoption foundations. The fact that women in the public have established foundations has been a clear indication that the awareness of foundation does not belong only to the wealthy class. Ottoman women with this consciousness contributed to the welfare of the society through the foundation. The Ottoman woman chose the place she would dedicate according to the area needed. In addition, in the foundations that were established, women were also assigned the duty of management and were interested in the functioning of the foundation. In this context, the woman has been an active individual in society and has left a mark for many years.

4.2. Turkish Bath Culture and Turkish Bath Entertainments

Apart from the foundations, another place where women were in the society in the Ottoman Empire was the baths. For Ottoman women, the hamam is an important place for both body cleaning and socialization (Bassano, 2015: 20). Women from all classes who did not have a bath in their homes in the Ottoman Empire went to the bath with great pleasure to be cleaned (And, 2019: 221). The women met in the baths, chatted and had fun (Olivier, 2013: 99). The bath was the meeting place for women. In the bath, women would have all kinds of conversations among themselves, have fun and get away from daily troubles (Kıa, 2013: 99). The bath culture of women in the Ottoman Empire was also reflected in the court records (GŞS 86, 1734: 240-b2).

Women enjoyed having sociable meetings with their fellows in private baths (Montagu, 2018: 118). In addition to this, we also see women who run Turkish baths in the Ottoman Empire. The women who run the bath have not given their rights to anyone by fighting for the injustice they faced. (GŞS 114, 1756: 161-b1) In this context, it is reported that women played a role in the operation or rental of one-third of the baths in 18th century Istanbul (Baş, 2006: 89). In this sense, the baths were not only places where women cleaned and chatted, but also women's working places. From this point of view, it can be said that baths are versatile environments for Ottoman women in terms of cleaning, socializing and working.

4.3. Weddings and Entertainment Life

Ceremonies held with the intention of celebrating the marriage after the marriage are known as weddings. Weddings take people away from a monotonous lifestyle by providing a good time with activities such as entertainment, conversation, watching, eating and drinking. It strengthens the unity in the society (Tezcan, 2000: 36). In the Ottoman Empire, many people came together through weddings. There were some events before and during the wedding.

In order not to be accused of living without marriage in the Ottoman Empire, marriage was mostly recorded in the court (Ortaylı, 2016: 110). In the religion of Islam, weddings were welcomed with tolerance, guests were served treats and entertainment was organized (Yaran, 1994: 16). Turks continued their wedding customs after accepting Islam. In the Ottoman Empire, women who were relatives and acquaintances of the couple going to get married went to the hammam before the wedding (Montagu, no date: 133). The bride who was

brought to the bath was soaped, scrubbed and other body cleaning and care was done (Kıa, 2013: 96; Nutku, 1994: 16-17). In addition, before the wedding, the women met with the bride and held a henna night. (And, 2019: 196)

Although it is mostly in the narratives of travelers that women attended weddings in the Ottoman Empire, archival documents on this subject have also been discovered. For example, Yusuf Bey from the Kozanlı neighborhood of Ayıntab applied to the court and said that there was a wedding eight days ago in the house of a non-Muslim named Panes from the same neighborhood, and that while the Muslim and Armenian women were together at the house, the mother of a man named Mustafa from the same neighborhood threw a stone at Rukiye's right ear, filing a complaint about Mustafa, who injured her mother in the record of the case where her mother reported that she was bedridden due to the effect of the wound (GŞS 90, 1737: 117-b1.). In this archive document, it is seen that Muslim and Armenian women were together at the wedding of a non-Muslim family. This document also clearly shows that women can come together for various purposes regardless of their religion.

In the Ottoman Empire, weddings were joyful, but excessive outbursts were not observed. Men and women had fun separately (D'ohsson, 2020: 195). This was owing to the fact that in the Ottoman Empire, it was clearly stated in the fatwas that young women and men were forbidden to come together to talk, humor, eat, drink and travel together, and such behaviors were shown among the acts that required punishment (Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi, 2011: 162). Therefore, at the wedding, the bride sat with the women and the groom with the men. After various foods were served at the wedding, entertainment was organized (And, 2019, 198).

In Ottoman society, wealthy men would bring köçek çengi among themselves and have fun, while women would watch the çengi (belly dancer, dancers) among themselves (Ortaylı, 2016: 158-159). Since dancing was considered a crime in the Ottoman Empire, it was only çengis who did this job. Almost all of the Chengis were non-Muslims. (D'ohsson, 2020: 238). While dancing is seen as forbidden among Muslims, it has been stated that almost all Greek women living in the country play and play both at home and in the countryside (D'ohsson, 2020: 239).

It is understood from the narratives of the travelers and the court records that women in the Ottoman Empire could have fun in various ways. In this sense, weddings have been an environment where women can have fun and participate in the society at the same time. Therefore, weddings have been an entertainment

that contributes to the socialization of women with various entertainment and event functions.

4.4. Street, Bazaar, Home and Out of Home Walks

Various opinions have been put forward for Ottoman women to go out to places such as bazaars and streets. While some travelers say that Turkish women rarely leave the house, the life of Ottoman women is simple and secluded, unaware of what is going on outside their home (D'ohsson, 2020: 196-197), some travelers also stated that Turkish women exhibit quite free behavior (Montagu, tarih yok: 53), and some others suggested that Turkish women are free to go for a walk or go to a friend (Pardoe, 1845: 74).

One of the ways for women to have a good time and have fun in the Ottoman Empire was to visit the house for the day. In the houses where they met with their neighbors, the women were discharged by relieving the tiredness and stress of daily work with activities such as chatting, telling tales, solving riddles, holding wishes, singing folk songs with a light tone of voice (Abdulaziz Bey, 1995: 161). Thus, women in the Ottoman Empire were able to have fun among themselves. German Protestant pastor Salomon Schweigger, who passed through Turkey at the end of the 16th century, states that “while the whole world is afraid of the power of the Turks, they are afraid of their own wives, that they are the servants of the Turks”. This is due to the fact that in the Ottoman Empire, men were held responsible for meeting all the needs of the house. He also mentions that women chat with their friends at home, go for a walk when the weather is nice, go to the hammam and get excited and relieve their troubles. (Schweigger, 2004: 201). According to this information, it is seen that Ottoman women had various activities among themselves. While this is the case in the narratives of those who visited the Ottoman lands, in a study based on Ottoman archive documents, it was mentioned that women in the Ottoman Empire were able to travel and do their shopping comfortably in the bazaars and markets (Maydaer, 2010: 111). It has been stated that recreation areas are places that show that especially Istanbul women participate in social life (Boyar and Fleet, 2014: 227).

Regardless of their nationality, women living under the roof of the Ottoman Empire were compelled to act in accordance with the utmost decency in terms of behavior and dress on the street. It was stated that women who did not comply with the ban were publicly insulted (D'ohsson, 2020: 101). In this context, the clothes worn by women are divided into home and non-home. While women

mostly wear dresses such as gowns and caftans in their home environments (S Söylemez, 2013: 263), they were able to go out on the street by wearing loose abayas (D'ohsson, 2020: 100; Faroqhi, 2005: 125). In the Ottoman Empire, the clothes of women varied according to their position in the society and their economic status. (Kurt, 1998: 123). Since the beginning of the 16th century, women have used ferace, a clothing that is wide and extends to the ground, as street clothing (Apak et al., 1997: 107). However, in the 18th century, edicts were issued on how to sew abayas, which are women's street clothes, and it was stated that if women wore abayas that did not comply with the specified conditions, harsh warnings would be given to them. In addition, restrictions were imposed on the number of days and hours of curfew for women in this period (İnan, 1982: 86-87). Ferace, which was the essential outer garment of women until the Tanzimat, started to become an insignificant dress from the Tanzimat period. (Lewis, 2006: 350).

When the out-of-home travels of Ottoman women are examined, it can be understood that women have been engaged in entertaining activities in various ways with each other by having neighborly relations with their fellows. Until the 18th century, Ottoman women were able to go to places such as bazaars and streets more freely if they followed the necessary dress codes, but towards the end of the 18th century, restrictions were imposed on women's going out.

5. Conclusion

This study was conducted on the basis of archive documents with the aim of revealing the position of Ottoman public women in society. The data obtained in this context show that the Ottoman public women are individuals who use the rights given to them by the law and are not completely closed to social life. As a matter of fact, the fact that Ottoman women went to the turkish baths, established foundations and went out on the street showed that women took part in social life. Although it was forbidden for men and women to have fun together, women have found ways to have a good time among themselves. Contrary to popular belief, the Ottoman woman was not imprisoned at home, but was able to take part in various social activities. Both archive documents and the observations of many travelers confirm this statement.

According to the conditions of the time, there were some changes in the identity of the Ottoman woman in the society. Culture, economy and religion factors played an important role in this change. As a result of these effects, Ottoman women could not be as active as men in society. Although the activities

of Ottoman women in society decreased compared to the first Turks, it was seen that Ottoman women were in a better position when their positions in legal life were compared to the positions of their fellows in other contemporary countries. This is due to the fact that Ottoman women participated in social areas together with legal, economic and various social activities according to the conditions of the period. Thus, as a continuation of Turkish culture, it was clearly observed that Ottoman women existed in social life in various ways.

This situation also showed that caution should be exercised before putting forward an opinion about Ottoman women. Owing to this, it would be a more correct approach to evaluate the differences experienced in the fields of activity of women in the historical process according to the conditions of the age.

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DŞS 3712, DŞS 3754.

Gaziantep Şer'iyeye Sicilleri (GŞS)

GŞS 93, GŞS 103, GŞS 114, GŞS 52, GŞS 53, GŞS 55, GŞS 58, GŞS 59, GŞS 60, GŞS 64, GŞS 66, GŞS 73, GŞS 75, GŞS 78, GŞS 79, GŞS 81, GŞS 86, GŞS 87, GŞS 90.

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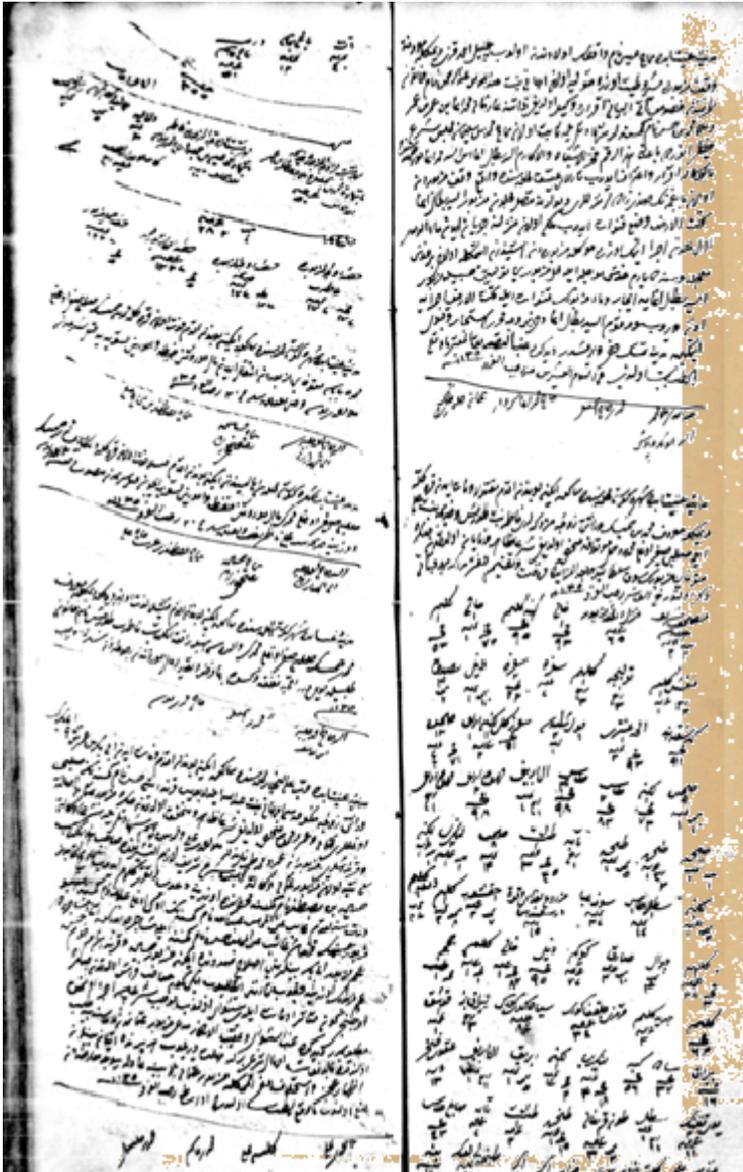
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Appendices



Appendix 1. Gaziantep Şer'iyye Sicil Defteri No. 75, 151-b1

CHAPTER IX

THREE SULTANS AND ONE DOWRY

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1. Introduction

From past to present, weddings are an important routine in social life and an integral part of daily life. A wedding is an important symbol for the institution of the family, which is the foundation of society. This ritual, which has a place in all societies, provides important data in terms of reflecting both the society and the age (Ak, 2020:4). Before the wedding ceremony, there are some preparations for the man and the woman. Foremost among these preparations is the dowry, which is practiced in Islamic countries.

In the formation of the marriage union under Islamic law, the husband is responsible for providing and furnishing a suitable house for himself and his wife, and according to some jurists, for his socio-economic situation only. Accordingly, in fact, a woman is not legally obliged to bring things (dowry/appliances) to her husband's house. The practice of dowry, which continues in various forms in Islamic countries, is essentially a product of social structure, not religious provisions (Dib, 1993:296-297). Islam forbids excess and waste (Presidency of Religious Affairs: Quran,31.ayet). In this sense, it is one of the requirements of religion to avoid excess and waste in the preparation of dowry.

During the Ottoman period, dowry customs varied according to regions, but did not differ greatly. Today, the custom of displaying dowry items is still practiced in many regions. The dowry was in a way an indicator of the economic status of the girl's family. In the Ottoman Empire, palace weddings and dowry processions were very magnificent. The dowry would be loaded onto mules and carts and passed in front of them for public viewing. Ottoman sultans used to give very valuable jewels and property for their daughters' weddings, depending on

the status of the groom and the value he placed on them. The dowry processions of the palace had a proper order and this protocol was followed for centuries except for some minor details (Nutku, 1993:297-298).

It is possible to see the Ottoman mindset and the subtleties in the understanding of the state in its etiquette procedures. In the Ottoman state tradition, palace ceremonies and ceremonies are of great importance in terms of art and cultural history as they shed light on their own era. In the Ottoman Empire, the official in charge of ceremonies, Teşrifâtî Efendi (Teşrifâtî-i Divân-ı Humâyûn), knew and managed the entire state protocol (Alikılıç, 2002:13). One of the ceremonies that required a great deal of pomp and circumstance was the sultan's wedding, which took place in all its splendor.

In the Ottoman Empire, weddings were not limited to the palace and would overflow to Atmeydanı/Sultanahmed, the biggest square of the city (Ertuğ, 2010:131-132). The daughters of Ottoman sultans were called sultan. The pre-wedding preparations of the sultans would take a long time and be very elaborate and costly. Of course, the expenses also varied according to whether the sultan's father was alive or not, whether he was a beloved sister or nephew (Uzunçarşılı, 1988:159).

The dowry expenses of the sultans were covered by the Treasury of Finance (state treasury). Dowry items generally consisted of jewelry, clothes, kitchen and pantry sets, silverware, bedding, etc. During the same period, the palaces allocated to the sultans were repaired and organized, and entertainment and banquets were organized for wedding ceremonies. These huge expenses were a heavy burden on the treasury, especially in the last period of the Ottoman Empire when the economy weakened. Among the measures taken in this sense was the marriage of more than one sultan in one wedding (Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, Y. PRK. HH, 27/64; Uru, 2010:9).

In her memoirs, Ayşe Osmanoğlu recalls her father, Sultan Osmanoğlu II. He states that fifteen sultans' weddings were held during the reign of Abdülhamid II. The first weddings were those of Abdülhamid's sisters Seniha, Behice, Naile and Mediha Sultan. Although the dowries of these sultans were prepared during the reign of Abdülaziz, their weddings took place during the reign of II. It was fortunate during the reign of Abdülhamid II. Afterwards, Abdülaziz's daughters Saliha, Esmâ, Nazima, and the second daughter of Abdülaziz II, Saliha, Esmâ, Nazima. The dowry preparations and weddings of Abdülhamid's daughter Zekiye Sultan were made. II. Abdülhamid II held the wedding of his daughter Naime Sultan alone. Afterwards, he married Sultan Murad's daughter Hatice,

Fehime Sultans and Sultan Abdülaziz's younger daughter Emine Sultan; then his own daughter Naime, Sultan Murad's younger daughter Fatma Sultan and his brother Kemaleddin Efendi's daughter Münire Sultan (Osmanoğlu, 1994:68).

Although they married on different dates in the dowry book, which is the subject of our study, they married on different dates. Naime Sultan, the daughter of Abdülhamid II, Emine Sultan, the younger daughter of Abdülaziz, and Emine Sultan, the younger daughter of Abdülhamid II. The dowry preparations of Emine Fethiye Hanım Sultan, daughter of Abdülhamid's niece, namely his sister Cemile Sultan, take place. It would be useful to clarify one important detail here. First of all, Ayşe Osmanoğlu's father, Sultan Osmanoğlu II. He did not mention Emine Fethiye Hanım Sultan among the sultans married during the reign of Abdülhamid II. On the other hand, in his master's thesis on Naime Sultan's biography, he made use of the dowry book, which is the subject of our study, and states that Naime Sultan's dowry preparations were made together with Emine Sultan and Ayşe Hanım Sultan, daughter of Cemile Sultan (Osmanoğlu, 1994:68; Bağce, 2008:40). However, the dowry book, it is clearly states that *"The total amount of gifts (donations) distributed on November 21, 1881 to the people who were present at the wedding ceremony of Emine Fethiye Sultana, daughter of the precious Cemile Sultan"* (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:3-1). Before going into detail, it would be useful to give brief information about the sultans.

Naime Sultan; II. She was Abdülhamid's daughter born in 1876 to Bîdar Kadın. Her first marriage was in 1898 with Kemâleddin Pasha, the son of Gazi Osman Pasha, the Hero of Pilevne. Naime Sultan also died during the Second World War (Bağce, 2008:44-100; Uluçay, 2012:254-255; Açba, 2007:128; Tuncer, 2015:16). Emine Sultan was the youngest daughter of Abdülaziz and was born to Nesrin (Neşerek) Hanım, the fourth lady-in-waiting, in 1874 in Beşiktaş palace. Emine Sultan lost her mother and then her father when her father Abdülaziz was deposed. Her brother Yusuf İzzeddin Efendi took care of the orphaned sultan and raised her. In 1901, at the age of 27, she married Mehmed Şerif (Çavdaroğlu) Pasha. He died in 1920 (Uluçay, 2012:236; Sakaoğlu, 2015:438; Açba, 2007:91). Emine Fethiye Hanım Sultan was the daughter of Abdülmecid's third wife, Cemile Sultan, who was born from Düzdil woman. His father was Mahmud Celâleddin Pasha. Fethiye Hanım Sultan was born in 1859 in Fındıklı Palace. In 1887, she married Hayri Bey. She died of tuberculosis two months after her marriage in the same year (Çiçek, 2020:44; Uluçay, 2012:224).

2. About the Source:

The document that is the source of our study is the State Archives Presidency “Ottoman Archive Retail Documents, Hazine-i Hâssa Ministry Document Fund (*Osmanlı Arşivi Perakende Evrakı, Hazine-i Hâssa Nezâreti Evrakı Fonuna*)” File No: 27, Shirt No: 64(Y.PRK.HH. nr:27/64), and M. May 22, 1894 (H. 17 Zilkade 1311) is a dowry list. This archive fund briefly contains the correspondence between the palace and “the Hazine-i Hâssa Ministry (*Hazine-i Hâssa Nezâreti*)” (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Rehberi, 2010:351). The summary of the document reads “*the dowry list to be given to the sultans for the dowry parties to be held for Naime and Emine Sultans and Hanım Sultan, daughter of Cemile Sultan*”. The document consists of 16 images, 20 filled and 7 blank pages. Since page numbers are not given regularly, image numbers are given as footnotes in the study. Studying all the marriage preparations and dowry documents of these sultans would be beyond the scope of an article or a book chapter; for example, there are many documents about Naime Sultan in the archives and her life was studied as a master’s thesis by Betül Kübra Bağçe. The aim of our study is to make an assessment of this dowry document in general. If we consider the dowry list in question worthy of study; In addition to the dowry expense items and amounts, the fact that many data such as engagement, marriage process and witnesses, atıyyes bestowed by the sultan, used clothing and kitchenware, baths and bedding were recorded together in the documents were a factor.

3. Engagement, Jewelry

An engagement is a mutual promise between a man and a woman to marry each other. The engagement period has an important place in Turkish customs and traditions (Acar, 2007:152-154). The sultans’ marriage partners were chosen by the sultan in accordance with Ottoman tradition. The decision would be communicated to the sultan and the groom-to-be - both parties were obliged to obey it. Various preparations and the engagement ceremony would follow. During and after this ritual, which is the first step towards marriage, our customs include exchanging gifts. III. In 1709, the engagement of “Armourer (*Silahdâr*)” Ali Ağa to Ahmed’s daughter Fatma Sultan was held at Topkapı Palace with a ceremony attended by the state officials. Among the groom’s engagement gifts to the sultan were the engagement ring, jewels on trays, sweets, bundles full of gifts, mehr-i mu’accel price, and other gifts sent to the palace to be given to the

sultan (Ak, 2021:46). It is understood that the gift-giving ceremony continued after the wedding ceremony. II. It is stated that Mahmud sent valuable items and jewels to his daughter Mihrimah Sultan on the day of the groom's wedding in the engagement set (Sunay, 2017:331). When we come to the use of gold and jewelry in the Ottoman palace and among the Ottoman sultans, we see that gold and jewelry were preferred by Ottoman sultans, statesmen and women sultans as a sign of power and splendor (Ekinci, 2019:3). In her memoirs, Ayşe Osmanoğlu states that her father-in-law Gazi Osman Pasha sent Naime Sultan a crown after the wedding (Osmanoğlu, 1994:69). In the dowry book, we come across Naime Sultan's jewelry list. The list includes 1 crown decorated with precious stones, 1 earring, 1 bracelet and 1 ring. The total value of the jewels is 260 thousand kurus (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:10-2).

The dowry book contains the curriculum of Naime Sultan's engagement set. Accordingly, the engagement set consisted of 1 tray with silver handles worth 3 thousand 700 kurus, 1 shawl worth 1800 kurus, 1 cigarette case decorated with gold and precious stones worth 16 thousand kurus, 1 cigarette holder decorated with gold and precious stones worth 2 thousand 100 kurus, 1 velvet fez cover embroidered with glaze and pearls worth 1500 kurus (my teacher (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:12-2). The title of this engagement set must refer to the gifts prepared for the groom, since both the materials included and the list of clothes sent to the groom afterwards support this interpretation. In this list; 24 linen Frankish shirts and flannel shirts worth 1632 kurus, 12 linen underwear worth 805 kurus, 12 linen handkerchiefs worth 120 kurus, 24 linen and wool socks worth 250 kurus, 6 silk ties worth 95 kurus, 1 silver barber's basin and bowl each worth 790 kurus, 2 linen and menatin(?) barber's cloths worth 1600 kurus, a boxed razor set and an oak barber's bag, 2 keziye-covered sable and kakum furs worth 3,600 kurus, and a gold armband with precious stones worth 8,250 kurus.) barber's cloth, boxed razor set and oak barber's bag, 2 pieces of sable and kakum furs covered with keziye worth 3,600 kurus, and a set of gold cufflinks decorated with precious stones worth 8,250 kurus (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:13-2).

In the 19th century, the Westernization movements brought by the innovative sultans to the Ottoman way of life in every field, and the changing way of life, especially around the palace, also affected the women of the palace and their clothes (Yılmaz, 2011:31). The dowry book also includes a list of Naime Sultan's clothes. The list is dominated by furs and embroidery with glazes and pearls. The total value of the clothes is 158 thousand piastres, including 1 fur coat and sable fur coat with pearls and precious stones on the

buttons, 1 diamond-embellished robe with pearl and pearl embroideries, 1 pair of potins with pearl and pearl embroideries and precious stones on the buttons, 1 atlas robe with glaze and pearl embroidery, 1 pair of potins with glaze and pearl embroidery, 1 sable nâfesi fur coat covered with kadife, 1 apple fur coat covered with cotton atlas, 1 lynx fur coat covered with atlas, 1 veil with glaze and pearl embroidery, 1 coffee cloth with glaze and pearl embroidery (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:11-2).

4. Dowry and Wedding Expenses

During the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, especially the women of the palace were notoriously extravagant. It is noteworthy that the women of the palace in this period borrowed and spent far more than their income, and that they prepared sumptuous sultan weddings and dowries. The furnishing and repairs of the palaces were a separate burden and expense (Akyıldız, 1998:1-4). When sultans were getting married, the sultan would buy palaces for them from hazine-i hassa or have the existing ones renovated and furnished. After the wedding, the sultans would leave the sultan's palace and settle in their own palaces (Uluçay, 1992:94; Uru, 2010:10,96). The increase in expenditures resulted in a deficit in the Treasury. When the situation became unmanageable, it was decided that the treasury-i hassan would be supported by the Ministry of Finance. Loans were also taken from Galata bankers at very high interest rates (Akyıldız, 1998:1-4).

Leyla Saz, who witnessed the palace life and harem life for a period, mentions among her memories the magnificent wedding preparations of the sultans and the dowry preparations that amounted to hundreds of bags (Saz, 2012:161). Dowry preparations were made well in advance and the missing items were completed after the engagement. Sultan weddings varied in duration, but could take place in 1-2 days or last for several weeks (Uluçay, 1992:94; Uru, 2010:96).

As we have already mentioned, II. During his reign, Abdülhamid II performed weddings not only for his own daughters but also for his sisters and nieces. II. In order not to burden the treasury during the troubled days of the Treasury due to the economic depression of the period, Abdülhamid II requested that excesses and extravagance be avoided in the dowry of the sultans, the repair and furnishing of the mansions, the *atiyye* to be distributed and the banquets to be given. Apart from the sultans who are the subject of our study, other sultans of the same period also had mass wedding preparations.

II. When Zekiye Sultan, the daughter of Abdülhamid II, entered the marriage path, Saliha Sultan, the daughter of Abdülaziz, Nazıme Sultan and Esmâ Sultan, the other sultans in the dynasty, also took their first steps towards marriage. The total calculated dowry cost for the Sultans was 60,80 liras. Zekiye Sultan's dowry expenses were personally paid by her father, Sultan Zekiye Sultan II. While this amount was covered by Abdülhamid II, 45,60 liras of this amount was covered by the Ministry of Finance for Nazıme, Esmâ and Saliha sultans. This dowry amount can be compared with the previous period, for example with the period of World War II. Compared to the 3,037,519.5 kurus, or 30,375 liras, spent on the dowry of Mahmud's daughter Atiye Sultan alone (Uluçay, 1992: 94; Uru, 2010:10).

On May 22, 1894, as recorded by "the Hümâyûnu Başkitâbet Department (*Hümâyûnu Başkitâbet Dâ'iresi*)" Yıldız Palace, it is understood that when the necessary dowry, wedding expenses and arrangement principles for Naime Sultan, Emine Sultan and Fethiye Hanım Sultan, for whom wedding preparations were being made, were arranged, great importance was attached to the saving method. However, after some consideration that it was not possible to limit these sums, it was decided that the entire cost of the dowry and weddings of Naime Sultan and the organization of their palace should be paid directly to the Sultan II. It was decided to be covered by Abdülhamid (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:1-2).

In 1892, when it was revealed that the amount of the renovations required to turn the Sadık Pasha Mansion, which was purchased for Emine Sultan, into a sultan's palace was 84,114 kurus, but the amount of the renovations was 251,247 kurus, it was revealed that the amount of the renovations was 251,247 kurus. Abdülhamid II was consulted and the sultan ordered that the necessary action be taken according to the second survey (Y.MTV. 64/75). On the other hand, baths, which have a very important place in Turkish-Islamic culture, were given due importance in the Ottoman period. In addition to public baths, private baths were built next to places such as palaces, mansions and mansions. It is understood that it was decided to build a bathhouse for Fethiye Hanım Sultan in Pasha Harbor in Üsküdar (BEO, 140 /10433).

In January 1893, since the weddings of Naime, Emine and Fethiye Hanım Sultans were planned to be held in March and April, it was ruled that the repair works of the Sadık Paşa Mansion, which was purchased for Emine Sultan, be completed (BEO, 140 /10433; 1451/108790; 1479/110920; İ.HUS. 81/8; Y.PRK.ASK. 84/54). Emine Sultan and Fethiye Hanım Sultan's palaces were to be repaired and furnished, dowry and wedding expenses, and the cost

of jewelry to be purchased for them were to be negotiated by the Ministry of Finance. Accordingly, the amount of jewelry to be purchased was 2600 liras for Emine Sultan and 2000 liras for Fethiye Hanım Sultan. In addition, from the money allocated for the dowry and wedding expenses of the sultans, there were payments to be distributed by the sultans to the treasurer, servants, imams, mawlithans, “orators (*hatiblere*)”, the cost of the banquet to be held at the wedding, and the distribution of tips to the soldiers.

The expenses for Emine Sultan’s dowry and wedding were 14,751 liras 92 kuruş, while the expenses for Fethiye Hanım Sultan were 10,803 liras, totaling 25,554 liras 92 kuruş. When the amount of 4600 kuruş was subtracted from the amount of the jewelry to be purchased by the Ministry of Finance, it was decided to inform the Sublime Porte that the remaining amount of 20,954 lira 92 kuruş should be paid to the Ministry of Hazîne-i Hâssa in installments of 2000 liras per week. With the instruction of Abdülhamid II, it was decided that the sum of 17,152 lira 79 kuruş for Naime Sultan’s jewelry, dowry and wedding expenses, the furnishing of the palace for the sultan and other expenses would be covered from the Treasury itself. It is understood that the kitchen expenses and the amount of the pantry were not included in this amount and it was decided to be determined later by the commission to be convened (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:1-2).

The estimated amount spent on the dowry arrangement for Emine Sultan is as follows: the amount of *atiyye* granted by the sultan was 200 thousand kuruş. 260 thousand piastres of jewelry, 158 thousand piastres of clothing expenses and 26 thousand piastres of engagement sets were to be covered by the Ministry of Finance. The total amount was 1 173 892 kuruş, including 17 thousand 142 kuruş for the clothes and linen to be bought for the groom, 106 thousand 700 kuruş for the prayer rugs, ablution and bath sets embroidered with glaze and pearls, 99 thousand 400 kuruş for some other expenses, 201 thousand 800 kuruş for silver utensils, 28 thousand 750 kuruş for pantry and kitchen sets, 27 thousand 500 kuruş for the food given at the palace for the wedding, 7 thousand 500 kuruş for transportation and small expenses, and 41 thousand kuruş for various expenses on the day of the wedding (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:8-1).

The estimated amount of Hanım Sultan’s dowry is given as follows. It is stated that 400 thousand kuruş worth of bedding and dowry expenses were given to Cemile Sultana in cash by order of the Sultan. The total amount was 300 thousand kuruş, including 100 thousand for *atiyye-i seniyye* (*atiyye-i seniyye*), 200 thousand for jewels to be paid by the Treasury of Finance, 10 thousand for the lady, 10 thousand for the master treasurer, 5 thousand for the eunuchs

of the sultan's chamber, 5 thousand for the eunuchs of the sultan's chamber, and 5 thousand for the teberdars* of the sultan's chamber. In addition, a total expense of 779 thousand kurus was recorded, including 24 thousand krş for the pantry, kitchen sets and wedding expenses, and 25 thousand for some necessary supplies. The estimated cost of the three weddings was 3 366 784 krs. The wedding expenses of Naime Sultan were given as 1 413.892 krş; Emine Sultan's wedding expenses as 1.173.892 krş and Hânım Sultan's wedding expenses as 779.000 krş (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:82).

The estimated amount of Naime Sultan's dowry to be paid from Hazîne-i Hâssa is as follows: Dowry expenses were stated as 1 413 892 kurus. Among these expense items were 158 thousand kurus for clothes, 26 thousand 100 kurus for the engagement set, 17 thousand 142 kurus for the groom's laundry, 106 thousand 700 kurus for prayer rugs, ablution and bath sets, 99 thousand 400 kurus for bedding, 201 thousand 800 kurus for silver utensils, 28 thousand 750 kurus for pantry and kitchen utensils, 27 thousand 500 kurus for the wedding meal, 4 thousand 500 kurus for transportation and other minor expenses, 41 thousand kurus for dues and other expenses on the day of the wedding and 500 thousand kurus for the palace allocated for the sultan. The amount of atıyye distributed at the wedding, excluding the cost of the wedding arrangements, was 301 387 kurus, totaling 1.715.279 kurus (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:9-1).

The expenses to be covered by the Ministry of Finance were 1,173,892 kurus for the dowry arrangement for Emine Sultan and 301 300 kurus for the atıyya distributed at the wedding, totaling 1 475 192 kurus; 779 000 kurus for the dowry arrangement for Hanım Sultan and 301 300 kurus for the atıyye distributed at the wedding, totaling 1 080 300 kurus. As a result, the total amount to be paid in cash is 2 095 492 kurus; the amount of jewelry planned to be paid by the Ministry of Finance is 460 thousand, totaling 2 555 492 kurus (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:4-1). According to another source, it was stated that the money allocated for the dowry of Naime Sultan, who was the first to wear a white dress at palace weddings, was 16,749.29 lira (M. 1889) (Uçan, 2021: 202, 208).

5. Kitchen and Pantry Utensils

In palace life, items made of gold, silver and jewelry were used both in daily life and for ceremonies. Among these furnishings, there are many palace items

* Teberdar (Baltacı); a caste of Ottoman palace bîrun officials. see. Abdülkadir Özcan, Baltacı, *TDV Islamic Encyclopedia, V, 1992 Istanbul, pp.34-35.*

ranging from thrones and war materials to bowls, plates, spoons, basins and pitchers (Ekinci, 2019: 15-22).

In the dowry list, the number of silver kitchen utensils and pantry items are listed and their total amounts are included. The page with this list is “ *İt is a notebook containing silver utensils* “ (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:6-1), but it is not specified whether it belonged to Naime Sultan, Emine sultan or Fethiye Hanım Sultan. However, on the following page, where Naime Sultan’s dowry expense items are recorded, the total amount of the kitchen utensils in question is the same, indicating that the kitchen utensils in question belonged to Naime Sultan.

Table 1. Silver Kitchen Utensils belonging to Naime Sultan (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:6-1; Bağce, 2008:113-115)

Item name	Number
Lantern	1
Large ablution basin and pitcher	1
Gilded white hand mirror	1
Round hand mirror	1
Bath bowl	2
Bath boiler	1
Çalhâne	1
Night lamp	1
Diamond coffee envelope ¹	2
Aznavur gilded ² silver coffee envelope	12
Coffee envelope	10
Coffee tray with cabaret	1
Gilded dessert spoon	10
Sherbet cup	10
Gilded cups, lids and plates	2

1 Coffee cup bottom container

2 A type of decoration made with a fine pencil on a silver surface

Item name	Number
Breakfast plate and terpuş ³	10
Silver toe cap	1
Strainer	1
Food knife	12
Food fork	12
Tablespoon	12
Dessert spoon with coral tips	20
Tablespoon of an ice cube with coral tips	20
Spoons with coral tips	20
Large food tray	1
Gilded salt shaker and spoon	1
Standing fruit plate	6
Lidded sahan, soup bowl, pilaf bowl	12
Food pier	1
Basin and pitcher	2
Büyük mangal	1
Mahogany chest	2
Walnut chest	5
Censer and gülabdan	2
Six-armed large candlestick	2
Single candle candlestick with tray	2
Gilded coffee rack and pitcher	1
Gilded sherbet tray	1
Coffee tray	1
Breakfast tray	1
Gilded dessert inkwell and lid	1

3 Sahan, a kind of fez-like headdress with a tassel

As the title of Table 1 suggests, all of the utensils in the table are silver and number 206. The total cost of silver kitchen utensils was 201,800 kurus. As for the pantry items in Naime Sultan's dowry, they are given in the table below with their numbers.

Table 2. The Pantry and Other Kitchen Utensils Belonging to Naime Sultan (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:7-1; Bağce, 2008:113-115)

Item name	Number
Porcelain and crystal sherbet glasses, lids and plates	28
Fakzun ⁴ sherbet tray	1
Saxon water tray	6
Yellow gilded fakzun tray	1
Saxon bowls, lids and plates	8
Painted and gilded Saxon finial	2
Saxon salad plate	28
Saxon jam platter	50
Steel trays in various sizes	18
Gilded brass basin and pitcher	2
Copper basin and pitcher	3
Gilded brass fânûs	6
Gilded brass candlestick and fânûs with three candles	4
Gilded brass hand candlestick	6
Gilded tombak ⁵ envelope ⁶	24
Gilded brass dinner tray	2
Copper food tray	5
Brass barbecue set	5
Brass latrine pitcher	10

4 A metal alloy mixed with nickel in imitation of silver. See Şemseddin Samî, *Kamus-ı Türki*, University of Toronto, Der Sa'adet İkdâm Matbaası, p.978

5 The name given to an item plated with gold by a method used to give the appearance of gold on cheap metals. For detailed information see Rezzan bora, *Jewelry used in 19th century Ottoman painting*, Işık University, Institute of Social Sciences, Master Thesis, 2013, p.18

6 Metal container

Item name	Number
Gilded tombak coffee tray	2
Saxony tea set with chest	1
Copper sahan and lid	50
Copper soup bowl and rice bowl	12
Copper dessert plate with rim	12
Copper pie plate without rim	12
Copper berek/berk? And cover	5
Copper halvah and lid	10
Copper chopping and cover	10
Copper pot and lid	40
Copper Lenten pot and lid	15
Copper kadâyif tray	5
Copper hash brown bowl	5
Copper lamb basin and lid	5
Copper pilaf basin and lid	5
Copper caravan	5
Copper strainer	2
Bowl with copper handle	5
Copper big boiler	2
Copper laundry basin	5
Copper cup	5
Copper water tray and mug	10
Copper kefgir and kefl	10
Copper bucket	4
Copper hand basin and pitcher	3
Copper rhinestone mold	5
Copper dough mold	1
Copper oil film	2

The total number of pantries and other kitchen utensils in Table 2 was 457. The total amount was 28,750 kurus. When we look at the kitchen and pantry utensils in general, it is seen that gilded and copper utensils predominate in addition to the main silverware. Also noteworthy are the kitchen utensils imported from Saxony.

6. Ablution and Bath Sets

We see the elegant taste of the palace women in their other dowry items in their ablution and bath sets and utensils. Especially glaze embroidery is predominant

Table 3: The ablution and bath sets in Naime Sultan's dowry
(Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:14-2; Bağce, 2008:113-115)

Item name	Number
Heavy ablution fota ⁸ Kılabdanlı ⁷	1
Yellow kılabdani embroidered hammam set	2
Atlas basin cover with white glaze embroidery	1
Kökez ihrâm embroidered with glaze	1
Chest covered with silver on velvet	2
White glaze embroidered terpûş	5
Marikon food nihali with glaze embroidery	3
Prayer rug and cushion embroidered with pearls and glaze on velvet	1
Prayer rug and cushion embroidered on atlas	1
S süznî embroidered prayer rug and cushion on mantin	2
Manuscript prayer rug and cushion	4
Ablution towel embroidered with pearls and glaze	2
Foot towel embroidered with glaze	2
Glaze embroidered ablution towel	8
Foot towel embroidered with glaze	8
Ustûfe ⁹ âbdest set bundle	2
Ustûfe esvâb bundle	4
Yellow glaze embroidered çaşnigîr cover	1
Yellow glaze embroidered sherbet grease holder	10
Yellow and white glaze embroidered dinner towel	20
Yellow glaze embroidered atlas tableware	2
Souvenir embroidered tableware on mantin	4
White glaze embroidered atlas tableware	1
Total price of goods (kurus)	106.700

8 Hamam towel, loincloth

7 Imitation of gilded copper glaze

9 Bindallı style heavy women's fabric

As seen in Table 3, Naime Sultan's ablution and bath sets are recorded as 87 items in the dowry list and their total value is 106,700 kurus. The towel has the highest number of these items. The types of the 40 towels are ablution, foot and dining towels. Other remarkable items are prayer rugs and cushions with valuable embroidery, and they are 8 pieces.

7. Bedding Sets

Sim glaze embroidery was very common in the Ottoman Empire. Sim glaze, also known as Maraş work, was a very flamboyant embroidery used in many areas from clothing to decoration in the palace (Yakar-Yakar, 2011:33-34). This embroidery is very common in the items used by palace women in their dowries. The dowry book includes 295 pieces of bedding sets of Naime Sultan, embroidered with glaze and pearls, and their total cost. According to this list, the total cost of 1 bedspread embroidered with kılabdân on Bürümcük was 99.400 kurus (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:15-2). There are 34 bed linen. The types of sheets are Penbezâr¹⁰, Marble shâhî¹¹ with glaze and pearl embroidery, embroidered with glaze. There are 36 pillow covers. Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover Types of pillow cover There are 53 quilts. Types of quilts are serbra and pearl embroidered, atlas, shawl, süzni embroidered, writing, chintz. There are 55 bed ties. Types of bed ties include tokma, Kılâpdân, plain silk and cânfes. Pillows, 69 pieces. Cushions are embroidered with serb and pearls, Suznî and Tire embroidery. Mattress, 37 pieces. Types include atlas, dibet and basma.

8. Marriage

Marriage; *joining, bringing together; marriage* means. In Islamic law, for a marriage to be valid, it must be contracted in the presence of witnesses. However, there is no requirement for the marriage to be performed in front of a clergyman or other person or for a religious ceremony. However, due to its importance in social life in Muslim societies, the tradition of performing the marriage contract in the presence of family elders and religious figures respected by the society such as imam, mufti and kadi, making a speech about the importance of the

¹⁰ Penbe, means cotton.

¹¹ A kind of white cloth thicker than cheesecloth and thinner than calico

marriage union during the marriage, praying, and having a wedding dinner has been maintained (Atar, 2007:112-117; Aydın, 1982:1-12).

On the other hand, in Islamic societies, as in many civilizations, especially among administrators, fortune-tellers were respected and kept in palaces (Aydüz, 2006:167). Ashraf time refers to the auspicious and appropriate time to start any work. The practice of the hour of dawn, which was determined by astrologers, was highly valued in all palaces starting from the Umayyads and Abbasids, especially in the Ottoman Empire. Among the duties of Müneccimbaşası was to determine the time of the sultan's ascension to the throne, the birth of princes, the timing of wars and the sultan's weddings by preparing zayıçe, or notebook-i nücûm, for almost all important decisions (Şener, 1995: 476-77; Morkoç, 2018:31). Although the institution of the Müneccimbaşalık was established in the reign of Charles II. Although it is estimated that it was abolished during the reign of Abdülhamid II (Aydüz, 2006:173), in a document dated 13 Kânûn-ı sâni sene [1]306 (January 25, 1891), it is stated that the müneccimbaşı Efendi was to be consulted for the time of the waking hours with reference to the marriage contract of Cemile Sultan's daughter Hanım Sultan (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:2).

While the Darüssaade Agha played a leading role in wedding ceremonies in the Ottoman Empire until the reign of Abdülmecid II, he lost his importance in this period and the chief chamberlain began to act as the sultans' proxy at the wedding. The male party was represented by one of the ministers. When the Kethüdalık was also abolished, the deputies started to be nazır, mabeyinci and "müşahibs (*müşahiblerden*)". The marriage was performed by the sheikhulislam. Mostly, the regent of the Sultanate was the chief chamberlain and the regent of the grooms was the chief clerk (Uluçay, 1992:94; Uru, 2010:109-110; Uzunçarşılı, 1988:160). The marriages of the lady sultans were officiated by the Rumeli kazasker (Uzunçarşılı, 1988:166).

Naime Sultan's wedding was performed by the sheikhulislam in the mabeyn-i hümayay in Yıldız Palace. Naime Sultan's proxy became the Darüssaade Agha and the groom's proxy became the minister of justice. The witnesses to the marriage were Undersecretary of the Mashihat Derviş Ali Rıza Efendi, Ser-muhâsib Cevher Ağa ibni Abdullah, Grand Vizier Halil Rifat Pasha and Said Pasha, the head of the Council of State. Hagia Sophia Sheikh Akif Efendi prayed after the wedding and the Koran was recited by the imams of the Hagia Sophia mosque (Bağcı, 2008:44-45).

Hanım Sultan appointed Muzaffer Ağa, the second müşahib (sultan's advisor) (İpşirli, 2020: 230-231), as her proxy at her wedding. The witnesses of

the marriage were Makâm-ı mehd-i ülyâ-yı an expression used for the mother of the sultan on the throne who was still alive (Akyıldız, 2012:494-499) “the chief landlords of Hazret-i şehriyârî (*hazret-i şehriyârî hazretlerinin baş ağâsı kulları*)” II. Although Abdülhamid’s birth mother was Tirimüjgan sultan, she died when Abdülhamid was a young child, which is what is meant here. The head aga of Rahime Perestü Sultan, Abdülhamid’s spiritual and stepmother, and the second witness was the head aga of Cemîle Sultan. The groom’s deputy was Osman Pasha, “the müşiri of the Mâbeyn-i hümayûn (*Mâbeyn-i hümayûn müşiri*)”, “the Minister of Teşrifât-ı umûmiye and Kurenâ-yı sâni bey (*Teşrifât-ı umûmiye nâzırı ve Kurenâ-yı sâni bey*)” (second relative). Also present at the wedding were the khatîbi of the Âsâriye Câmî-sherîf, the chief clerk of the Mâbeyn-i hümayûn, Imam-ı evvel hazret-i şehriyârî efendi, Müneccimbaşı efendi, Imâm-ı sâni hazret-i şehriyârî efendi, Teşrifâtî-i divân-ı hümayûn efendi, Hagia Sophia sheikh efendi, Sultanahmed Câmî-i şerîfi sheikh efendi, Teşrifîye Câmî-i şerîfi hatîbi efendi and servants were present (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:5-1).

Mehir (mehr), which briefly means wage, refers to the money or property that the husband has to pay to his wife during marriage. The practice of thick, which existed legally in pre-Islamic Turks, was replaced by mehr after Islam (Aydın, 2003:389-391). There are two types of mahr: the first is mihr-i mu’accel, which is the amount that the man gives to the woman in advance at the time of marriage. The second is mihr-i müeccel, that is, the amount that the man undertakes to give to the woman after marriage (death/divorce) (Akyüz, 2005:216).

The amount of mahr varied according to the sultan’s rank. The fact that she was the daughter or sister of the sultan, whether she was older or not, etc. also had an effect on the amount of mehir (Uzunçarşılı, 1988:161). The amount of mihr-i müeccel requested for Naime Sultan was determined as 1001 kese and the amount of mihr-i muaccel as 1001 kese (BOA, Y. PRK. BŞK, 55 / 97; Bağce, 2008:44-45). The Mihr-i mü’accel determined for Hanım Sultan was 250 001 gurus (Y. PRK.HH, 27/64:5-1).

9. Donations (Atiyyeler)

Donation, which means gratuity and bestowal, are cash gifts given by the sultan. On certain days, the sultans would bestow gifts such as dresses and fabrics as well as sacks of money to the people of the palace, to those who had served the state on various occasions, or to those who were skilled, to those who were

exceptionally successful in a job, or even to some important people and the entourage of foreign ambassadors for the purpose of condolence, and these were called “*atiyye-i seniyye*” (Emecen, 1991:64). Although the practice of *atiyye-i seniyye* existed before Abdülhamid II, it was used as a symbol of the state during his reign (Temuren, 2020:79-80; Akyol, 2013:38).

The amounts of donation distributed for the sultans are given in different amounts on different pages. This is probably because the records were written in parts at different times. The amount of donation granted by the sultan for Emine Sultan was 200 thousand krş. (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:8-1), and on another page 301 300 kuruş (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:4-1). The amount of donation distributed for Naime sultan, excluding dowry and wedding expenses, was 301 387 krş (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:4-1) and 200,000 kuruş (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:9-1).

Again, the amount of donation granted for Hanım sultan is 100 thousand kuruş on one page (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:8-1) and 301 300 kuruş on another page (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:4-1), but on another page, “the donations (*atiyyeler*)” granted by the sultan in addition to the wedding arrangements and dowry expenses are given in detail. Accordingly; 80 thousand krş. to the vâlide woman master, 100 thousand krş. to the second woman master of Zekiye Sultan, 15 thousand krş. to the master treasurer, 30 thousand krş. to the imam and other mawlihan who recited the mevlüd read at the wedding, 340 thousand krş. tefrişatçılara, 1100 krş. for some items, 50 thousand 500 kuruş “for Huzûr-ı hümayûn ders-i huzur and muhâtibs (*Huzûr-ı hümayûn ders-i huzur ve muhâtiblerine*)”, 40 thousand kuruş “for Muzikâ-i hümayûn zâbitân and neferât (*Muzikâ-i hümayûn zâbitân ve neferâtına*)”, 242 thousand 400 kuruş for all clergymen and orators, and 271 thousand 87 kuruş for the banquet given at the wedding and the provisions granted to the soldiers, totaling 903 thousand 987 kuruş. (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:8-2). Even this total amount of donation given to the lady sultan is an indication of how high the expenses were-it is understood that both the wedding and dowry expenses and the donations granted to the lady sultans were lower than the expenses of the sultan’s daughters.

In the document dated November 21, 1881, those who attended the wedding ceremony of Emine Fethiye Hanım Sultan, the daughter-in-law of Cemile Sultan and the amounts donated to them are given.

Table 4. Emine Fethiye Hanım Sultan's Wedding Persons and Quantities

Ihsan ordained	Penny
To the chief astrologer lord	2000
To Hagia Sophia Sheikh Efendi	1000
Sultanahmed Şeyhi Efendiye	1000
To the honorable master	2500
Imâm-i first to the master	2000
To Imam-i-sânî Efendi	2000
To Imam Ibrahim Effendi	500
To those in service	750
To the palace tables	1500
To Ra'cî Efendi, who performed the wedding ceremony	1000
The eunuch imam to the lord	500
To Temur Hafız Efendi, Orator of Hagia Sophia	500
To a teacher at the wedding	500
To Teşvikiye Hatîbi Efendi	300
To some chambermaids	400

The total amount of the amount bestowed on those named in the table is 16,450 kuruş. From Ceyb-i Hümayun¹² that is, it was recorded that it would be covered from the personal account of the sultan (Y. PRK. HH, 27/64:3-1).

10. A Brief Evaluation of the Costs

It is useful to give a few examples within the framework of the dowry preparations and wedding dates of the sultans in order to be able to make a financial evaluation of the expenditures of the money spent and to understand a little bit. For example, when we look at the revenues of Ayıntap affiliated to the R.1310 (M.1894/95) Aleppo sanjak, it is seen that the revenue of tithe is 1,307.000 kurus, the income tax and camel tax is 230 thousand kurus, the military service fees are 300.800 kurus, and the real estate and dividends tax is 1.085.100 kurus. When we look at the expenses of the city, it is seen that the finance is 46,085 kurus, the courthouse is 22,100 kurus, the internal medicine is 48,828 kurus and the şer'iyye is 28,800 kurus (Köroğlu, 2018:107-108).

In a different example, the average pension amounts of civil administrators between the years 1880-1912. According to this; the minister 13,500 kurus, the undersecretary 4,695 kurus, the governor 6,113 kurus, the district governor 2,649 kurus, the district manager 740 kurus, the director of the education 1348 kurus, the school principal 800 kurus, the doctor 694 kurus, the school teacher 465 kurus, the midwife was receiving 146 kuruş salary (Gökmen, 2022:103-104). In 1898, the salary of a primary school teacher (Mekâtib-i İptidaî) varied between 50 krş-600 kuruş (Tutal, 2019:57). It is possible to multiply examples.

1315 /m. Some of the prices in the Samsun “Şer'iyye Register (*Şer'iyye Sicilinde*)” dated 1897-1898 are as follows (Kaya, 2015:38); 1 meci diye gold coin was 100 kuruş. 1 horse was 600 kuruş, 1 suit was 3 Ottoman liras, 1 watch was 120 kuruş. H.1316-1318 / M. There is also an estate in Antakya, which is included in the Şer'iyye Registry between 1898-1901 (Çelik, 2012: 171-244); 1 copper large saucepan and lid were 11 kurus 30 coins, 1 copper saucepan and saucer were 11 kurus 30 coins, 1 old silk robe was 20 kurus 30 coins. Again, in the same registry, 39 female goats were 970 kurus, 14 kids were 140 kurus, 3 male goats were 120 kurus, 1 house with an annex was 10,000 kurus.

12 It is a term used for the sultan's private purse, that is, his personal treasury. See Ayhan DOĞAN, The Situation of Sultan Abdulaziz's Private Treasure According to the Ceyb-i Hümâyûn Records Dated R.1286-1288/M.1870-1872, *Turkish Studies*, 9/7, 289-309, 2014, Ankara.

Again, let's look at the average food prices in Uşak, a rural area in the Ottoman Empire, between 1880-83. Flour was 20 cents for a bushel, 34 cents for wheat, and 1.5 cents for kıyye. The prices of some animals in penny were as follows; The ox cost 360, the mule 700, the horse 300, the camel 960, the sheep 51 kuruş. If we look at the prices of some items; bedding was 84 cents, a robe was 60 cents, a copper cauldron was 100 cents, when it comes to securities prices, the average was 1320 cents, vineyard 172 cents per acre, mill 1300-13000 cents (Çubuk, 2011:81-84).

Despite the last period of Ottoman financial crisis, it is obvious that various economic measures were tried to be dealt with during the reign of Abdulhamid II. Considering the costs of palace weddings, especially during and before the reign of Abdülhamid, it is seen that serious savings measures were taken and costs were reduced during the reign of Abdülhamid. However, no matter how much savings were made, it is seen that the cost of dowry and wedding expenses is just as high when compared to the economic portrait of the people we see in the Sharia records of the period.

11. Conclusion

The dowry book, which is the subject of our study, gives valuable information not only about the wedding and dowry expenses of the Ottoman palace, but also about the social, cultural and economic life of the period. So much so that the palace life of the period is revealed from clothing to kitchen utensils, from jewelery to used ablutions and bath sets. We see precious stones, precious embroideries as well as western influence in all areas in these items. The dowry preparations, the expenses for the wedding and the palace expenditures of the period also reveal how much of a budget the Ottomans allocated for such ceremonies. In addition, as we mentioned in the source section, it cannot be said that all the details and expenses of the dowry and wedding expenses of the sultans, which are our subject, are included in this study. Our aim was to present an evaluation and perspective only on the dowry list in question.

Although the sultans had more than enough income for their own expenses, they often had a deficit in their budgets due to their luxury expenditures. They tried to close the gap by borrowing from the market from time to time. However, Sultan II. During the reign of Abdülhamid, it is seen that measures were taken to restrict the expenditures of the women of the palace. At the beginning of these measures in terms of wedding expenditures, the dowry and wedding

preparations of the sultans whose marriage time has come, come together. II. Although the period of Abdulhamid was the period of savings in the Ottoman financial crisis, it is a fact that there was a natural gap in the economic situation of the people when the subject was the Ottoman state traditions, the splendor of palace life and its expenses.

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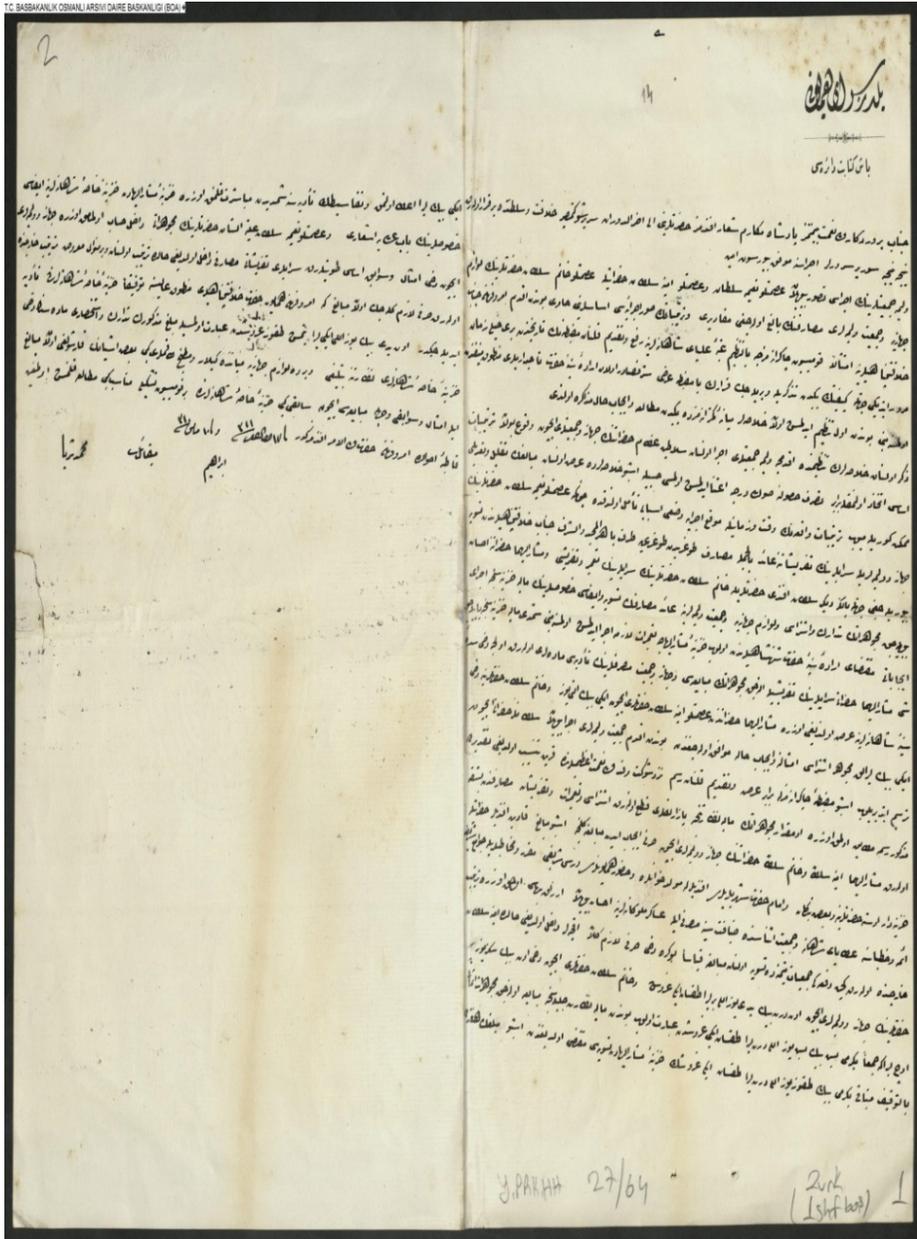
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Appendices



Y.PRK.HH.00027.00064.001

Appendix 1

4

دردتد عشره جیده سے نہ فقیرتد کرب لکھ مرصوم ابنہ فقیر خان سے نہ فقیرتد عقدی جیفیت
 برنہ نہ ریزرہ ایسیج کھرسا نہ ۹۱ نہ یہ ولایج تاریخ اجا بہ سبکو مبالغت نقد ع

عقد	۹۰۰۰
سرخم نقد	۱۰۰۰
ابا خودہ سخی نقد	۱۰۰۰
سقاہ نقد	۹۵۰۰
نرخا نقد	۹۰۰۰
اسم انہ نقد	۹۰۰۰
اسم ثناء	۵۰۰
اسم ابالہم	۷۵۰
عقد نونہ سجانہ	۱۵۰۰
ماہ ہفتہ نقد	۱۰۰۰
عقد اجا نہ	۵۰۰
دارالسادہ نقد	۵۰۰
ابا خودہ غلطی نقد	۵۰۰
عقد مہ نقد	۵۰۰
نورہ غلطی نقد	۵۰۰
بہار اولہ نقد	۹۰۰
<hr/>	<hr/>
	۱۶۶۵۰

سینور نورن جب ہر روز نہ سونہ انہ نقد قیداً اصلہ نقد در

Y.PRK.HH 27/64 3

Y.PRK.HH.00027.00064.003

ع

قریه فاضله شاهزاده نسیمی لازم کلان

دولت و عیال و نفوسه نه هفتی تزیینات جلایز برای مصارف شخصی

	عروضت
مربوط خدمت و نفوسه هفتی تزیینات جلایز مصارف	۱۴۱۴۱۹۵
نگار خدمتک با محضه و محراب و لیلی اوزره اوچه اجیویولونه سد طبعه عطفه	۲۰۱۴۱۷
جمعیت دیگر لریک تزیینات فاضله عطفه سیه اوله رفه صاحبیویولونه مبالغه اصابت ابد	۱۷۱۵۵۷۹
مالیه قریه جلایز نسیمی کایا ابد	
	دولت و عیال و نفوسه نه هفتی
	عسکر و خانم سلطه نه هفتی
	حضرتی اجرت
	عروضت
مربوط خدمت و نفوسه هفتی تزیینات جلایز مصارف	۷۷۹۰۰۰
نگار خدمتک با محضه و محراب و لیلی اوزره اوچه اجیویولونه سد طبعه عطفه	۲۰۱۴۰۰
حضرتی دیگر جمعیت تزیینات فاضله عطفه سیه اوله رفه صاحبیویولونه مبالغه اصابت ابد	۲۰۱۴۰۰
۱۰۸۰۲۰۰	
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	عروضت
نقد اعطای لازم کلان	۲۰۹۵۴۹۵
بروجیه ازده سیه سارلها حضرتی اجیره مالیه قریه نسیمی	۴۶۰۰۰۰
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Appendix 3.

CHAPTER X

WOMEN AND POLITICS IN THE 17TH CENTURY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE OTTOMAN AND SPANISH EMPIRES*

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1. Introduction

According to the Ottoman administrative tradition, only sons of the sultan had the right to ascend to the throne. In this regard, the Ottoman Empire rested on a principle of absolute authority in the monarch within a male-dominated structure. However, from the second half of the 16th century, imperial women such as *valide* (the mother of the sultan) and *haseki* (favourite concubine or wife of the sultan) sultans began to participate in the central government of the empire. They influenced the decisions made in many fields from appointments and dismissals to military issues and foreign policy. Thus they became a very important power within the government during the 17th century. The fact that some of the sultans who ascended the throne were not mentally stable, and most importantly, that some of them were still children, paved the way for their mothers to influence politics. In particular, between the years of 1623-32, 1648-51 and 1651-56, the *valide* sultans played an important role in the Ottoman central government. In this regard, *valide* and *haseki* sultans

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competed for influence over the sultan, and factions in government. At this point, in Ottoman studies, the period between the years 1550 and 1656 is described as the “sultanate (or reign) of women”.¹ However, as can be seen below, the period up to the 17th century is excluded from the scope of this study, since it cannot meet the necessary criteria for comparison.

Many aspects of the participation of the *valide* and *haseki* sultans in politics in the 17th century have already been studied recently.² However, this study tries to deal with this subject comparatively. For comparison, the Spanish Empire, which went through a similar historical period with the Ottoman Empire until the end of the 17th century, was chosen.³ As in the Ottoman Empire, in the Spanish Empire there was a tendency in favour of the sons of the ruler (the eldest son) in the enthronement, and the empire rested on a principle of absolute authority in the monarch within a male-dominated structure. Again, similar to the Ottoman Empire, in the Spanish Empire, the king’s mother played a decisive role in the government of the empire until the end of the century, since the king who ascended the throne in the second half of the 17th century was still a child. As in the Ottoman Empire, she became the dominant power in the decisions made in many fields from appointments and dismissals to military issues and foreign policy. On the other hand, the two wives of the king also played an important role in the government. All these met two necessary criteria accepted by prominent historians such as March Bloch (2015: 45) for comparative history: “there must be a certain similarity between the facts observed an obvious point and a certain dissimilarity between the situations in which they have arisen.” From this perspective, this study aims to discuss the participation of imperial women in politics in the Ottoman Empire during the 17th century based on the Spanish

1 This term was first used by the Ottoman historian Ahmet R. Altınay in a book that was edited in four volumes between 1916 and 1923 and published under the same name. See Ahmet. R. Altınay, 1916-23. This term was also adopted in Leslie P. Peirce’s work entitled “The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire”, which was published in 1993 and is considered one of the most important studies in this field. However, Peirce, arguing that there are many misunderstandings on this issue, opposes the use of this expression in a negative sense, in other words, the idea that women’s involvement in the state administration harmed the Ottoman Empire. He argues that the women’s reign cannot be held responsible for the collapse of the Ottoman Empire by revealing the reasons. See. Peirce, 1993.

2 These studies will be shown in their proper place.

3 For more on the surprising likenesses between the historical period of the Ottoman and Spanish Empires from the foundation to the end of the 17th century, see Arikan 1969: 239-256; Yanar, 2021: 10-15.

Empire, which went through a similar period, with the method of comparative history. It is expected that such a comparison would contribute to a broader assessment of the role of women in the government of the Ottoman Empire.

2. The Process of Women's Participation in Politics and Its Dynamics

Before discussing the participation of imperial women and their activities in politics in the Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the 17th century, this chapter examines the process of women's participation in politics and its dynamics. Different from the classical central government structure of the Ottoman Empire, some changes occurred from the second half of the 16th century and these changes led to the weakening of the absolutist structure in central government. Thus, in this new balance of power, the *kapıkulu* soldiers (janissaries and *kapıkulu sipahis*) and the *ulema*, in particular, the *sheikh al-Islam* (the head of the Ottoman religious establishment), began to compete for influence on politics. Another faction that rose to prominence in this balance of power and that played an active role in central government was the *harem* (*valide* and *haseki* sultans and *darussaade* aghas). The relations of these factions with the dynasty began to change and thus they influenced central government. The conflicts between these factions became decisive in the central government of the empire. Since it is not possible to deal with all of these factions in this study, this study only aims to analyze the role of the *harem* in central government.⁴

The most important of changes that occurred in the central government of the Ottoman Empire from the second half of the 16th century was the abolition of “the practice of sending the princes (*shahzades*, Sultan's sons) to the *sanjaks* (a subdivision of a province)”, which was one of the important practices of the classical period. The princes were assigned as *sanjak* governors to learn how to rule. However, when this practice was abolished they lost their chance to gain experience at the imperial palace.

Although some scholars argue that there were some rules about the accession to the throne in the Ottoman Empire,⁵ in fact, there was no law or custom regulating succession with the frame of the old Turkish political

4 For more on the assessment of the activities of these factions in central government, see Yanar, 2021: 50-82.

5 Joseph Von Hammer, for example, argues that the Ottomans used the principle of *ekberiyet* (seniorat) inherited from Genghis Khan. According to this principle, after the death of the sultan the eldest son of the sultan, but if he did not have a son, the oldest male member of the dynasty officially ascended the throne. See Joseph Von Hammer, 1983: VIII: 178.

tradition⁶ until the end of the 16th century (İnalçık, 1959: 69). According to the Ottoman administrative tradition, each male member of the dynasty had an equal right to ascend to the throne. However, after the reign of Sultan Orhan (1326-59), there was a tendency in favour of the ruler and his sons instead of all male members of the dynasty (Uzunçarşılı, 1984: 117-118). In this regard, the princes, who had equal rights to ascend to the throne, were sent to the *sanjaks* with their tutors as governors to gain experience in military service and government (Eroğlu, 2004: 106-109).⁷ However, as stated above, the absence of a certain law or custom regulating succession could cause fights and thus serious political crises. In particular, “the Interregnum Period (1402-1413)” caused by the struggles between the sons of Bayezid I (1389-1402) following the defeat of their father at the Battle of Ankara on 20 July 1402, had devastating effects on the Ottoman Empire.⁸ At this point, Mehmed II (1451-1481), the sultan of the Ottoman empire, codified the Law of Fratricide.⁹ It can be said that this law did not present a new rule of succession, it was merely the formalization of a long-standing practice. In the Ottoman Empire, the struggles for the throne continued in this period. After the sons of Bayezid I, this time sons of Bayezid II (1482-1512), Ahmed, Korkud, and Selim struggled for the throne.¹⁰ Finally, the fight for the throne between Bayezid and Selim, sons of Sultan Suleiman I (1520-66), led to serious political crises.¹¹ This political crisis led to the emergence of some changes different from the classical period in the central government of the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 16th century.

After the political turmoil caused by the fight for the throne between Bayezid and Selim, beginning from the period of Sultan Selim II (1566-74), the practice of sending all the princes to the *sanjak* as governors was abolished

6 In the ancient Turkish concept of sovereignty, the state was regarded as “the common property of the members of the dynasty”. Therefore, there was no fixed law or custom regulating succession. All sons and brothers of the ruler had the same right to ascend to the throne. There was a conception of “Kut” as the source of power. That is to say, political power was given to the ruler only by God and passed on from father to son. See Kafesoğlu, 1998: 248-258; Taneri, 2015: 93-97.

7 See also Uzunçarşılı, 1975: 659-696.

8 See Alderson, 1956: 49-53; Uzunçarşılı, 1984: 45-46; Yolalıcı, 1999: 384-398.

9 The article from Sultan Mehmed II’s Law of Governance (*kânûnnâme*) states that “Fratricide, for *nizâm-i ‘âlem* (the common benefit of the people), is acceptable for any of my descendants who ascend to the throne by God’s decree. The majority of the *‘ulemâ* (Muslim scholars) permits the fratricide.” See Özcan, 2003: 18.

10 See footnote 8 and Söylemez, 2012: 63-83.

11 For more on this fight, see Turan, 1997; Uzunçarşılı, 2011: 401-408.

in order to prevent these throne fights. After this, only the eldest prince was sent to the *sanjak* as governor (Uzunçarşılı, 1984: 46; Turan, 1997: 153). This development paved the way for the eldest prince to ascend to the throne. In this regard, Selim II and Murad III (1574–95) sent only their eldest sons to *sanjak* as governors. Mehmed III was the last prince who was sent to a *sanjak* as governor. Thus, Murad III and Mehmed III (1595-1603) came from *sanjak* and ascended the throne by executing all of their brothers.¹² However, Murad III and Mehmet III's executing of all their brothers caused a great sorrow in society (Tarih-i Selânikî, 1999: 102; İsen, 1993: 166-167). These reactions led to the abolition of the practice of sending the princes to the *sanjak* during the reign of Mehmed III (Uzunçarşılı, 1984: 46; Emecen, 2019: 414). With the abolition of this practice and the almost complete suspension of the Law of Fratricide at the end of the sixteenth century, the princes were confined instead to specially appointed quarters within the *harem* of the Palace, called “*kafes* (the cage)” (İnalçık, 2014: 85).¹³ Thus, these princes were not sent to the *sanjaks* as governors to learn how to rule as in the classical period. They were raised in the imperial *harem*, thus they lived in constant fear of execution (Findley, 2006: 66). Confinement in the *kafes* had a great impact on the psychology of princes, it favoured mental illnesses and most of them suffered psychological disorders. As a result of this situation, with some exceptions, inexperienced and sometimes mentally unstable princes ascended the throne (Alderson, 1956: 34; Uzunçarşılı, 1984: 91). After the death of Sultan Ahmed I (1603-17) in 1617, for example, his mentally unstable brother Mustafa I (1617-18/1622-23) ascended the throne twice (Peçevi Tarihi, 1981: 337; ‘Abdulkâdir Efendi Tarihi, 2003: 666). Likewise, in 1640, on the Sultan Murad IV (1623-40)'s death, the mentally unstable Ibrahim I (1640-48) became sultan (Tarih-i Gilmâni, 1975: 41; Fezleke, 2007: 911-912). On the other hand, most of the sultans, who ascended the throne in the 17th century, were children. Sultan Ahmed I, who ascended the throne in 1603 on the death of Sultan Mehmed III, was only fourteen years old (Zübütü't-tevârih, 2003: 7; Ravzatü'l-ebrâr, 2010: 193). Besides that, Sultan Ahmed I was not sent to the *sanjak* as governor, therefore, he had no experience in government. This caused the emergence of new powers that would play a decisive role in central government. Also, Sultan Osman II (1618-22) was fourteen years old when he ascended the throne

12 Murad III ordered the execution of his five brothers. See Tarih-i Selânikî, I: 102. Mehmed III ordered that all of his nineteen brothers to be executed. See Tarih-i Selânikî, II: 436; Peçevi Tarihi, I: 102. See also Akman, 1997: 98-103.

13 For more on “*kafes*” system, see Alderson, 1956: 32-36.

(Târîh-i Âl-i Osmân, 2000: 14; Ravzatü'l-ebrâr, 2010: 242). As we are going to see below, in particular, Sultan Murad IV's accession to the throne at the age of twelve and Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-87)'s at the age of seven paved the way for the *valide* and *haseki* sultans to influence central government.

After revealing the process of women's participation in politics and its dynamics in the Ottoman Empire in the 17th century, now the Spanish Empire can be examined in this regard. From the establishment of the Spanish Monarchy at the end of 15th century until the change of dynasty in 1700, in Spain, "*the male-preference cognatic primogeniture*" was a more common rule of succession. According to this tradition, the eldest surviving male child was the heir to the Spanish throne.¹⁴ Thus, in 1516 Charles V (1516-56), in 1556 Philip II (1556-98), in 1598 Philip III (1598-1621), in 1621 Philip IV (1621-65), and in 1665 Charles II (1665-1700) respectively ascended to the throne.¹⁵ This male-preference structure, in which the throne passed from father to son, continued in a form of the absolute monarchy till the end of the 17th century.

In Spain, after the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were joined politically at the end of the 15th century with the marriage of Ferdinand II (1479-1516) of Aragon and Isabella I (1474-1504) of Castile on 19 October 1469, the Catholic Kings tried to restructure the state in order to build a centralized structure (Perez, 1997; 75-85). In Spain, some historical institutions in this regard were reorganized in this period (1474-1516).¹⁶ The Catholic Kings' attempts to strengthen the central government were also continued by Charles V. Thus, until 1556, when Charles V handed over the crown to Philip II, the central government of the Spanish Empire became a form of absolute monarchy. This structure was gradually strengthened by Philip II, thus Spain became one of the best examples of a state that rested on a principle of absolute authority in the monarch within a male-dominated structure.

In the Spanish Empire, although there were limitations for the ruler such as religion and traditions, the king was at the apex of the hierarchical imperial system and had absolute sovereignty. Therefore, as a sovereign, he had all the fundamental political and administrative tools. At this point, in this form of government, holding absolute power, Philip II had unlimited authority. He

14 For more on the Spanish succession system, see Zoepfl, 1840.

15 See Kamen, 2005.

16 For example, the Consejo Real de Castilla, which was created by King John in 1385 as an advisory board but did not have an important function in the administration until the period of the Catholic Kings, became one of the main institutions of the central administration in this period. See Dios, 1982.

always had the last word in state affairs (Shaw, 2001; 300). However, after the death of Philip II on September 13, 1598 (Kamen, 1997; 315), important changes occurred in this form of government. The first years of the reign of Philip III (1598-1621), who ascended to the throne at the age of twenty after Philip II, became a period of changes in the central government of the Spanish Empire. This development is considered as a turning point in the history of the Spanish Empire in terms of the abandonment of the absolute monarchy (Bustamante, 1950: 7; Feros, 2006: 56-57). Unlike his predecessor Philip II, who avoided appointing aristocrats to high positions of power,¹⁷ Philip III appointed the aristocrats as members of consuls. He also delegated his functions to one of these aristocrats, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duke of Lerma. Thus, Philip III became the first king who relied on the royal favourite which was a new feature of the Spanish political scene.¹⁸ After Philip III, Philip IV also followed this policy and delegated his functions to Gaspar de Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares. These kinds of aristocrats were the kings' favourite or minister.¹⁹ In Spanish, they were known as *favorito*, *privado* or *valido*.²⁰ During the reign of Philip III and Philip IV, they acted as heads of government, thus they became the most important political figures in the central government of the empire.

In the Spanish Empire, the absolutist monarchy, which began to weaken from the reign of Philip III, took a different shape with the accession of Charles II. As we are going to see below, he ascended to the Spanish throne in 1665 at the age of four. Furthermore, he was sick from birth. Therefore, even when he reached adulthood, he did not have the ability to rule the empire. Again as we are going to see below, these circumstances paved the way for imperial women such as Carlos II's mother and wives to participate in politics and influence the central government of the empire. This development caused the weakening of absolute authority and the involvement of external powers in central government, as never happened before. The rivalry between these factions turned into a great struggle for power.

17 A few days before he died, he expressed to his secretary his concerns about the aristocracy gathered around his son. He thought that these would influence him and the administration. See Lafuente, 1862: 77-8.

18 For an overview of the literature on the reign of Philip III, see Bustamante, 1950; Feros, 2006; Williams, 2010.

19 For an overview of the literature on the reign of Philip IV, see Castillo, 1988; Hume, 1907; Stradling, 2002.

20 These terms, which were used in the same meaning, refer to aristocrat the intimate companion of the king. In other words, these terms were used for individuals delegated significant political power by the kings. See Feros, 2006: 1.

3. Women's Struggle for Power and Their Political Activities in Government

According to Ottoman tradition, the sultan did not marry, but had a *harem* of concubines. These concubines were producing him heirs (Peirce, 1998: 28-32). However, this tradition changed with Sultan Suleiman I (1520-66). Breaking this tradition, he became the first sultan to be officially married to a woman from his *harem*. This woman was Hurrem Sultan, also known as Roxelana in Europe. A new title *Haseki Sultan* (Imperial Consort) was created for her, which continued to be attributed to later wives of sultans (Peirce, 1993: 58-61). As the first *haseki* of the empire, Hurrem influenced political issues, and thus began an era in which Imperial women changed the political dynamic of the Imperial Court for over one hundred years.²¹ In this regard, Sultan Suleiman I's reign, due to the influence of Hurrem on the Imperial Court, famously marked the emergence of the imperial *harem* into the palace and political sphere. After Hurrem, *haseki* sultans began to gain greater influence on the central government during the reign of Selim II (1566-74). The increasing lack of ability and power of the Ottoman sultans from the the reign of Selim II played an important role in this development. Unlike the sultans of the classical period such as Mehmed II, Selim I and Suleiman I, these sultans did not have the ability to exercise real power. This change, which occurred in the Ottoman administrative structure, paved the way for the *valide* sultans to emerge as an important power from the reign of Murad III, as well as the survival of *haseki* sultans until the middle of the 17th century. As a result, the reign of Selim II marked the beginning of the age of the *valide* sultans (Peirce, 1993: 91). As Selim II's *haseki* and Murad III's mother, Nurbanu Sultan (1525/30-1583) became the first woman who intervened in politics. She became a very important political figure with far-reaching influence during this period. Nurbanu Sultan, after Selim II's accession to the throne in 1566 (Tarihi Selaniki, 1999: 43-44), became the head of the *harem* as the mother of Murad III, the heir to the throne. After her son Murad's enthronement in 1574 (Tarihi Selaniki, 1999: 100), her position in the Palace got stronger and she became *valide* sultan. Thus, with Nurbanu Sultan, the *valide* sultan reached the highest position a woman could hold in the Ottoman Empire.²² In this regard, the *valide* sultan became an important political power in the state government.

21 For an overview of the literature on Hurrem Sultan, see Uluçay, 1987: 593-596; 2011: 60-62; Skilliter, 1995:68-70; Sakaoğlu, 2011: 162-186.

22 Uzunçarşılı (1984: 156-157) states that his son Sultan Murad's great respect for her played an important role in the strengthening of Nurbanu Sultan's position in the *harem*.

Apart from Nurbanu Sultan, another *valide* sultan who influenced the Ottoman central government was Safiye Sultan (1550-1619). Safiye Sultan, who was Murad III's *haseki* and Mehmed III's mother, became the only ruler of the *harem* after the death of her mother-in-law, Nurbanu Sultan, in 1583 (Tarihi Selanikî, 1999: 140-141). After Murad III's death, as a *valide* sultan, she began to gain greater influence on the *harem* with her son Mehmed's accession to the throne. Both *valide* sultans influenced the decisions made in many areas from appointments and dismissals to military issues and foreign policy. In particular, they played an active role in the diplomatic relations with Venice. Safiye Sultan also had diplomatic relations with England. However, since these matters are not within the scope of this paper, we will not go into much detail on this subject.²³

Mahpeyker Sultan (1589?-1651), also known as Kösem Sultan, *haseki* of Ahmed I, the mother of sultans Murad IV and İbrahim I, and grandmother of Mehmed IV, was the first *valide* sultan who exercised a decisive influence on Ottoman politics in the 17th century, especially as regent for Murad IV and Mehmed IV.²⁴ After the death of Ahmed I in 1617, Kösem Sultan tried to pave the way for her sons to ascend the throne. In this regard, she played a primary role in the enthronement of Mustafa I in 1617, who was the brother of Ahmed I and was mentally deranged, instead of Ahmed I's son Osman from Mahfiruz Hatice Sultan (Emecen, 2006: 272; İnalçık; 2014: 85). She may have preferred Ahmed I's brother Mustafa I (1617-18/1622-23) to that of *Shahzade* Osman, to protect her sons' lives against the law of fratricide. Thus, under the influence of Kösem, since the establishment of the state, for the first time, the throne passed not from father to son, but from brother to brother. At this point, the practice where succession to the throne passes from father to son changed.

On Mustafa I's deposition in 1623, when Murad IV (1613-40) was enthroned as the eldest son of Ahmed I, he was only twelve years old. Therefore, he ruled until 1632 through the regency of his mother, Kösem Sultan. Since Murad IV was a minor, Kösem Sultan was appointed as an official regent (*naib-i-sultanat*) from her son's ascension in 1623 until 1632. Thanks to this development, she exercised a strong influence on Ottoman politics. In this period, Kösem Sultan acted together with the dignitaries of state on political issues such as the ongoing

23 For more on the activities of Nurbanu and Safiye Sultan in the Ottoman central administration, see. Yanar, 2021: 52-55.

24 For an overview of the literature on Kösem Sultan, see İlgürel, 1966: 83-84; 2002: 273-275; Koçu, 1972; Baysun, 1977: 915-923; 1986: 272-273; Oflazoğlu, 1982; Belhachemi, 1988; Peirce, 1993: 102-128, 260; Uluçay, 2011: 79-80; Tezcan, 2008: 347-359; Altınay, 2015; Kumrular, 2015.

wars with Iran, especially the loss of Baghdad, the unrest in the provinces, the Abaza Mehmed Pasha rebellion and the solution of the problems in the Crimea. The active role of Kösem Sultan in the government in this period can be understood much better from the orders she gave, on behalf of her son Murad IV, with his own handwriting on the petitions (*arz*) or outlines (*telhis*) submitted to her by the grand viziers.²⁵ The grand vizier addresses Kösem Sultan as “My Devletlü (a title of imperial gentry) Master” (BOA, TS.MA.e, no. 532/12). Such an address shows that Kösem Sultan was considered to be sovereign.

In 1632, Murat IV took control of the government. This meant the ending of Kösem Sultan’s 9-year term of office. Murat IV did not allow any power to interfere in his government of the empire. In this regard, he ordered his mother, Kösem Sultan, to end her interference in politics, threatening her with exclusion and exile from the capital if she did not comply. Thus, since Murad IV ruled the state with absolute authority between 1632-40, Kösem Sultan could not find the opportunity to influence political issues in this period. However, upon the death of Murad IV in 1640, Kösem’s only surviving son İbrahim (1640-48), who had mental problems, ascended the throne. With the accession of the emotionally disturbed İbrahim, Kösem once again began to take an active role in politics. She became the sultan’s principal advisor in this period. In time, these mental problems of Sultan İbrahim began to cause significant problems in the government. Therefore, the dignitaries of state such as Shaykh al-Islām Abdürrahim Efendi, Karaçelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi, Hanefi Mehmed Efendi and Müslühiddin Agha agreed on the deposition of the sultan (Fezleke, 2007: 1039).²⁶ This group, who were aware that Kösem Sultan needed to be consulted before any final decision was made, came to the palace and tried to persuade her. At this point, Kösem Sultan at first reacted and opposed the deposition of her son (Fezleke, 2007: 1039), but then, she accepted her grandson Mehmed IV’s accession (Ravzatü’l-ibrâr zeyli, 2003: 2-4; Fezleke, 2007: 1039;). However, despite Kösem Sultan’s apparent reaction, it is stated that she played a role in the deposition and execution of Sultan İbrahim (Ravzatü’l-ibrâr zeyli, 2003: 10-13).²⁷

After the execution of Sultan İbrahim, in 1648, Mehmed IV ascended the throne at the age of six. With the accession of Mehmed IV, the title of *valide*

25 For the orders of Kösem Sultan to the grand viziers on behalf of Sultan Murad, see BOA, TS.MA.e, no. 532/3; 532/8; 532/32.

26 On this subject, Vecihî Hasan Efendi (1957: 81) also states that there were discussions on the position of the sultan.

27 See also Emecen, 2000: 279.

sultan passed to Mehmed's mother, Hatice Turhan Sultan (1627-83), *haseki* of Sultan Ibrahim I. According to Ottoman tradition, upon the accession of a new sultan, the mother of the old sultan would retire to the Old Palace and give up her office. However, Mehmed's twenty-year-old mother, Turhan Sultan, had no experience or knowledge of state government. Therefore, contrary to tradition, Kösem did not retire to the Old Palace and she became Mehmed IV's regent with the new title *büyük valide* ("grandmother"). The demand of the political and religious leaders, who deposed Sultan İbrahim, from Kösem Sultan to continue her career as Mehmed IV's regent must also have played a role in this development. Kösem took control of state government in a short time and with her influence, Grand Vizier Sofu Mehmed Pasha was dismissed in 1649 and Janissary Agha Kara Murad Pasha was appointed as the grand vizier on 21 May in the same year. Thus, from this period onwards, she ruled the state in cooperation with the Janissary Corps until 1651 (Tarih-i Gılmâni, 1975: 57; Fezleke, 2007: 1054).

Mehmed IV's mother, Hatice Turhan Sultan,²⁸ also began to intervene in politics as the mother of the sultan. In this period, the significant figures of the state such as the sultan's teacher Reyhan Agha, Başlala (the Head Tutor) Süleyman Agha and Musahip İsmail Agha supported her (Târih-i Na'îmâ, 2007: 1325). Thus, Hatice Turhan Sultan succeeded in establishing a balance by relying on aghas of the palace, who were against Kösem Sultan. In this regard, a great struggle for power began between Kösem Sultan, who was supported by the Janissary corps, and Hatice Turhan Sultan, who was supported by the aghas of the palace. Meanwhile, Grand Vizier Kara Murad Pasha, who could not work under conditions caused by this struggle, resigned on 5 August 1650 (Vekâyi'nâme, 1993: 22-23) and Melek Ahmed Pasha was appointed as the grand vizier (Tarih-i Gilmani, 1975: 59-61; Fezleke, 2007: 1068-1069). Ahmed Pasha took some measures to balance the budget, but his economic measures worsened the economy instead of improving it. These measures also caused uprising in Istanbul. The people marched to the palace and demanded the execution of the Janissary aghas who supported the Kösem Sultan. However, Kösem Sultan refused these demands of the people and preferred to protect the aghas (Fezleke, 2007: 1080-1081). This reaction of Kösem Sultan increased her prestige in the eyes of the Janissary aghas and they began to fully support her.

28 For an overview of the literature on Hatice Turhan Sultan, see Altınay, 1931; Peirce, 1993: 24, 102, 112, 124, 147, 198, 208, 241; Woodhead, 2000: 679; Uluçay, 2011: 93-96; Thys-Şenocak, 2006; Karaca, 2012: 423-425.

Kösem Sultan and the Janissary aghas thus seized the power with the alliance they made. In this period, as in the childhood of Murad IV (1623-32), her key role in the central government can be understood from the orders she gave, on behalf of her grandson Mehmed IV, with his own handwriting on the petitions or outlines submitted to her by the grand viziers (BOA, TS.MA.e, no. 532/23; 532/26; 532/27; 778/47; 779/1). Although Kösem Sultan tried to rule the state from the *harem* since 1649, the power was under the control of the Janissary aghas (Fezleke, 2007: 1054-1081; Târih-i Na'îmâ, 2007: 1212). Therefore, it can be said that the Ottoman Empire was ruled under the domination of the Janissaries in this period.

In the face of reactions, Grand Vizier Melek Ahmed Pasha was dismissed on July 10, 1651, and Siyavuş Pasha, who was favoured by Turhan Sultan, was appointed as the Grand Vizier on August 21, 1651. In this regard, Siyavuş Pasha tried to break the domination of the Janissary aghas (Tarih-i Gilmâni, 1975: 65-66; Fezleke, 2007: 1080-1083). However, this attempt of Siyavuş Pasha deepened the struggle for power between Hatice Turhan Sultan and Kösem Sultan as well as their supporters. In this power struggle, with the order of Kösem Sultan, the Janissary aghas took action to eliminate some supporters of Hatice Turhan Sultan. This attempt of Kösem Sultan caused a reaction against her between members of the *harem* and *enderun* (the inner section of the sultan's Palace). Kösem planned to deposition Mehmed IV and replace him with another young grandson Suleiman II. This news was reported to Turhan Sultan and she discussed the issue with aghas of Palace. With the approval of fourteen of the aghas, it was decided to execute Kösem Sultan. With this decision Kösem Sultan was executed by Lala Süleyman Agha on September 3, 1651 (Fezleke, 2007: 1081; Ravzatü'l-ebrâr zeyli, 2003: 52-54). After the execution of Kösem Sultan, the people who supported her were also executed, thus the domination of the Janissary aghas in the Ottoman central government came to an end (Târih-i Na'îmâ, 2007: 13). With the death of her rival, Turhan Sultan became the head of the *harem* as a *valide* sultan.

Since her son Mehmed IV was still a child, as a regent, like Kösem, Turhan Sultan gained great influence in politics. As stated above, Kösem Sultan's power relied on the Janissary aghas, while Turhan Sultan's power relied on the aghas of the Palace under the leadership of Lala Süleyman, who was the darussaade agha (the chief harem eunuch). Darussaade Agha Süleyman, like the Janissary aghas during Kösem Sultan's regency, influenced central government (Fezleke, 2007: 1084; Târih-i Na'îmâ, 2007: 1356-1357). However, after Darussaade Agha

Suleiman increased his influence in power, a power struggle began between Grand Vizier Siyavuş Pasha, who did not accept the intervention of the *harem* (Târih-i Na'îmâ, 2007: 1365). The attempt of Siyavuş Pasha to prevent the intervention of the *harem* the central government led to his dismissal on 1 October 1651 (Tarih-i Gilmâni, 1975: 66; Fezleke, 2007: 1083). With the dismissal of Siyavuş Pasha, Turhan Sultan became the absolute authority in the Ottoman central government until 1656 in alliance with Darussaade Agha Süleyman. The orders on behalf of his son on the petitions and outlines submitted to her by the grand vizier clearly reveal this.²⁹ Turhan Sultan during her regency focused on two main factors: The ongoing war on Crete with the Venice since 1645 and the economic crisis caused by financing the wars. To improve the situation, Turhan Sultan appointed Köprülü Mehmed as the grand vizier on 14 September 1656. Köprülü Mehmed was given great authority without interference, even from the highest authority of the Sultan (Zübde-i vekaiyât, 1995: 3-4; Zeyl-i fezleke, 2012: 69). Thus, Turhan Sultan transferred her political power to that of the grand vizier. After giving the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed great authority, Turhan left to intervene in politics and lived a quiet life until her death in 1683 (Îsâ-zâde târihi, 1996: 179). Thus, with the retirement of *Valide* Turhan Sultan from politics, the sultanate (or reign) of women in the Ottoman Empire, which began during the reign of Selim II, came to an end.

After revealing women's struggle for power and their political activities in the central government of the Ottoman Empire, now the Spanish Empire can be analyzed in this regard. Charles II (1665-1700) was the last ruler of the Spanish Empire in the 17th century. He was born on 6 November 1661 as the son of King Philip IV and Mariana of Austria. After the death of his father Philip IV, he ascended the throne on 17 September 1665 at the age of four. His parents had five children, of whom only he and his sister Margarita Teresa³⁰ survived to adulthood.³¹ Charles II was a sickly child who suffered with rickets and also had severe learning difficulties (Kamen, 1980: 21; Lynch, 1994: 348; Storrs, 2006: 1).³² This alone explains the transformation in the central government of the Spanish Empire in the 17th century.

29 For these petitions and outlines see, BOA, TS. MA.e, no. 532/10; 532/11; 532/14; 532/20; 532/24; 532/25; 778/28; 778/33; 778/34; 778/46.

30 As we are going to see below, Margarita Teresa's marriage with King Louis XIV of France in 1660, paved the way for Louis XIV to use his claim as heir to the Spanish throne.

31 For more on the period of Carlos II, see Juderías, 1912; Pfandl, 1947; Maura, 1954; Kamen, 1980; Martínez, 1999: 77-136; Storrs, 2006.

32 For more on Carlos II's illness, see Gargantila, 2005.

The succession of a child posed many problems in the Spanish Empire. In those circumstances, the solution Philip saw for this was to appoint a regent and to form a regency committee of government. In this regard, Philip IV appointed his wife Mariana of Austria (1634–96)³³ as the regent and guardian for his four years old son till 1675, when he reached his adulthood at the age of fourteen (Kamen, 1980: 20-21). Mariana was the second child of Maria Anna of Spain and her husband Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III (1608-57). At first, she was betrothed to Philip IV's son Baltasar Carlos (1629-46), but on the death of the prince in 1646, even though she was his niece and thirty years younger than him, Philip IV got married to her in 1649 (Kamen, 1980: 329). Her capacity to govern is invariably questioned. For example, according to Lynch, "Mariana was an unstable, ignorant and obstinate woman, unfitted to rule a vast and complex empire." (Lynch, 1994: 360-361). However, as we are going to see below, she made great efforts to defend the Monarchy.

As stated above, under the terms of Philip IV's will, a regency Committee of Government (*Junta de Gobierno*)³⁴ was formed after his death. The Committee was instructed to meet daily and its main function was to administer the government (Tomás y Valiente, 1982: 21-22). The will of Philip IV stated that "the ministers must meet every day in the room of the palace chosen by the Queen, who must act 'always with the advice of the Committee and in no other way.'" (Kamen, 1980: 329). In those circumstances, although executive authority was given to Queen Mother as regent, in fact, she did not have a sovereign power, because as stated above, she had to act with the advice of the Committee (Tomás y Valiente, 1982: 21). Accordingly, at first, Mariana worked exclusively with the advice of the Committee, but she was inexperienced in government. Therefore, she soon began to take counsel of her confessor Austrian Jesuit John Everard Nithard on matters of government as well as spiritual guidance. However, Nithard had no experience in politics (Lynch, 1994: 361). On the other hand, in Philip IV's will, foreigners were excluded from the regency

33 For more on Queen Mariana, see Mitchell, 2019.

34 This regency committee was composed of five members: They were (1) the count of Castriello, president of the council of Castile; (2) Don Cristóbal Crespi de Valldaura, vice-chancellor of Aragon; (3) the count of Peñaranda, an experienced diplomat; (4) the marquis of Aytona, a grandee with military experience; and (5) the cardinal of Aragon (and inquisitor general, and still serving as viceroy of Naples). Don Blasco de Loyola served as a secretary in this committee. See Kamen, 1980: 328-329; Storrs, 2006: 153. Meanwhile, significant political figures such as the Duke of Medina de las Torres, the last valido of Felipe IV, were excluded from the committee. For the changes in the structure of the committee in this period, see García, 1993: xx VIII: 78.

Committee. Nevertheless, the Queen Mother trusted and advocated him, and thus appointed him as inquisitor-general and ex officio member of the regency council in 1666. Then he was appointed as *valido* (Storrs, 2006: 154). Like previous *validos* such as Duke of Lerma and Count-Duke of Olivares, Nithard was also the closest person to the king and the person he trusted the most. In a sense, as the head of government, he was the king's right hand man (Lynch, 1994: 361). However, Mariana's heavy reliance on Nithard, who was as a Jesuit and a foreigner, was resented by a significant part of the Spanish nobility (Storrs, 2006: 154). Nevertheless, with the total support of Mariana, in 1667, Nithard took the control of Spanish foreign policy (Phillips, Jr. and Phillips, 2010: 168).

In this period, taking advantage of the power vacuum in the Spanish central government, Louis x IV of France (1643-1715) began the war of the so-called "War of Devolution" in 1667. He invaded the Spanish Low Countries (present-day Belgium and Luxembourg) on the pretext of unfulfilled dowry terms for his wife Margarita Teresa, who was the sister of Charles II. At this point, Nithard struggled against Louis x IV of France, but he had to leave the French some strategic towns in 1668. This conflict ended with the signing of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapele in 1668. Meanwhile, Spain had to recognize the independence of Portugal with the Treaty of Lisbon signed in the same year (Phillips, Jr. and Phillips, 2010: 168). Although Nithard earned little credit for his efforts in this war, as touched above, he was a foreigner and not a noble. He had no political following and his only supporter was Queen Mariana (Lynch, 1994: 364). Therefore, Spanish nobility was against him and his rule. Besides the Spanish nobility, who demanded and worked for Nithard's dismissal was Don Juan José of Austria (1629-79). He was Philipp IV's adult illegitimate son. That is to say, he was Charles II's half-brother (Storrs, 2006: 154). The demand for Nithard's dismissal caused the political confrontation between Mariana and Don Juan in 1669 and resulted in Nithard's dismissal with an agreement. As Charles II's ambassador, Nithard went into exile in Rome. Meanwhile, as for Don Juan, he was appointed as vicar-general of Aragon and Catalonia. This time he accepted the appointment.³⁵

After the removal of both Nithard and Don Juan, from mid-1669 to 1673 the Queen Mother Mariana governed in collaboration with the Committee of Government, but this system of government did not work well. In this case, Mariana once again preferred to rely on a *valido*. At this point, she appointed Fernando de Valenzuela as a new *valido*. Unlike Nithard, the new *valido*

35 For more on this the political confrontation see, Mitchell, 2019: 109-140.

Fernando Valenzuela had a military career and experience in politics (Mitchell, 2019: 142). Meanwhile, Charles II had officially ascended the throne on 6 November 1675 (Lynch, 1994: 367). but as stated above he was a sickly child and mentally subnormal, therefore he did not have the ability to take control of the government. The Queen Mother, who anticipated that the king would summon his half-brother to assist him on matters of government, sought to exclude Don Juan from Madrid. At this point, on the advise of the Councils of State and Castile, this time, Don Juan was ordered to Italy as supreme commander. Meanwhile, on the same advise, Valenzuela was banished from Court (Maura, 1954, I: 211-226; Kalnein, 2001: 340). However, as Mariana exercised considerable influence over her son Charles II, he returned to Court in April 1676. He was loaded with appointments. On the other hand, upon the dissolution of the Committee of Government in November 1676, Valenzuela reached the pinnacle of his power. He was appointed by Charles II as *valido* as well as prime minister (the first use of this title in Spain) in November 1676 (Maura, 1954, I: 235-242; Tomás y Valiente, 1982: 28-30). However, as expected, the aristocracy opposed Valenzuela's high position in government. Thus, they began to work both to remove the influence of Queen Mariana on government and to exclude Valenzuela from the Court. In this regard, on 15 December 1676, they issued a manifesto (*documento de la grandeza*) which demanded that the king "remove the queen mother totally and permanently from his presence, imprison Don Fernando Valenzuela, and establish permanently at his side the Lord Don John of Austria."³⁶ At this point, this deepening political crisis might have exploded into a civil war. Under those circumstances, Don Juan, who had a regional (especially in Aragon and Catalonia) and aristocratic support, staged a military 'coup' (*golpe de estado*), which has been described as Spain's first military coup, and overthrew Valenzuela and Mariana's government. Valenzuela was sent to the Philippines (Escudero, 1999: 621-635). As for Mariana, she was banished to Toledo (Storrs, 2006: 156). Meanwhile, as for supporters of Mariana and Valenzuela, they were dismissed and exiled (Kalnein, 2001: 421). Thus, until his death at the age of fifty in September 1679, Charles II relied wholly on Don Juan in government. Don Juan governed single-handedly in this period,³⁷ but following his death, after a two and a half year absence, Queen Mother Mariana returned to the political arena from 1679 until her death in 1696 (Carrasco, 1999: 117).

36 The summary of the text has been published by Maura, see Maura, 1954, I: 244-245.

37 For more on this period, see Soto, 1990.

The death of Don Juan caused a new power struggle. In addition to his mother, Charles II's two wives also sought to fill the vacuum. Charles II had two marriages. Firstly, he married Marie Louise of Orleans in 1679. Born on 26 March 1662 Marie Louise of Orleans was the daughter of Duke Philippe I of Orléans and Princess Henrietta of England. She was also the niece of Louis x IV.³⁸ In a sense, this marriage was a political marriage. Having been defeated by France in the war, Spain sought ways of peace. At this point, Charles II's marriage to Louis x IV's niece was the ideal solution. On the other hand, by using this marriage, France aimed to influence Spanish politics (Lynch, 1994: 374). Furthermore, Marie Louise of Orleans became an important rival to the Queen Mother Mariana for the king's affections. In this regard, from 1679 until her death in 1689, Marie Louise of Orleans sought to wield influence, as did Charles II's mother. However, by 1686 she lost the public goodwill of her early years and became the focus of discontent. The leading *grandees* were discontent with his influence on the king. The aggressive policy of Louis x IV against Spain played an important role in this attitude of the aristocracy (Kamen, 1980: 373). On the other hand, the absence of an heir was also blamed squarely on her. The Spaniards knew that if Marie Louise produced an heir this would secure the succession and destroy the ambitions of Louis x IV on Spain. Although Charles II was mentally retarded and physically deformed, Marie Louise was blamed for infertility (Marthe, 1939). Therefore, despite Marie Louise's efforts to influence politics, her political role remained limited compared to Charles II's mother. She died on 12 February 1689 (Kamen, 1980: 373-374).

After the death of Marie Louise in February 1689, Charles II married Mariana of Neuburg who was a German princess and a member of the Wittelsbach family. She was daughter of the Elector Palatine and sister of the Emperor Leopold. Mariana of Neuburg, who was a tall, singleminded blonde German, unlike her predecessor as queen, was experienced in politics. Therefore, she easily exercised considerable influence over her husband and took control of government (Kamen, 1980: 375).³⁹ Meanwhile, she brought strong-willed queens and their diplomatic backers with herself from Germany to Spain. However, this group also intervened in Spanish politics. This development intensified the struggle for power (Lynch, 1994: 375). Although they were both Germans, this struggle for control over the crown caused conflicts between Mariana of Neuburg and her mother-in-law, Mariana (Kamen, 1980: 375).

38 For more on Marie Louise of Orleans, see Zapata, 2000.

39 For more on Mariana of Neuburg, see Baviera, 1938;

Mariana of Neuburg was against the system of government based on the *validos*. In this regard, Oropesa, who was appointed as *valido* in 1685, was dismissed in 1691 under her influence (Sanz Ayán, 1988: 271–2, 275–6; Storrs, 2006: 158). With the dismissal of Oropesa, the queen did not appoint a new *valido*, and thus took control of the government. This new government system paved the way for the German advisers of the queen to influence the government (Kamen, 1980: 386). On the other hand, she filled the Council of State with her own clients. Thus, appropriating the sovereignty belonging to her husband, she became the sole authority in all appointments and dismissals (Lynch, 1994: 379–380).

The power of Maria Anna derived from her status as the mother of the heir to the throne, but like Marie Louise, she brought no heir. This was due to Charles II's impotence, nevertheless, encouraging Charles to undergo treatments to increase his fertility, she tried to make it clear the failure to produce an heir was not her fault (Beem, 2019: 108). By 1696–7 it was known that Charles II would remain childless. On the other hand, in 1698, he became seriously ill and his death appeared clearly imminent. In this case, an heir had to be found for Spain. At this point, the two serious claimants were France and Austria. In this regard, on 11 October, France, Britain and the Dutch Republic signed the Treaty of the Hague, also known as the First Partition Treaty, an attempt to achieve a diplomatic solution to succession issue on Spain and Austria. According to the terms of this treaty, six year old Electoral Prince Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria, would be heir to the Spanish Empire. The rest of the empire would be split between France and Austria. Spain was not consulted on terms of this treaty, therefore it was indignant at this treaty (Hussey, 1970: 358). Meanwhile, in November 1698, Charles II created a will in which he named Electoral Prince Joseph Ferdinand heir to the whole inheritance. Besides that, he appointed Maria Anna as regent until he attained his majority (Ward & Leathes, 1912: 385), but the death of Joseph Ferdinand in 1699 ended this treaty. Thus, in March 1700, the Second Partition Treaty, also known the Treaty of London, was signed between France, Britain and the Dutch Republic to resolve succession issue on Spain and Austria. According to the terms of this second treaty, Maria Anna's nephew, Archduke Charles became heir to the Spanish Empire (McKay, 1983: 55). Stipulating an undivided and independent Spanish monarchy, Charles II reacted by altering his will in favour of Archduke Charles (McKay, 1983: 54–55). Despite efforts by Maria Anna to ensure her nephew's Archduke Charles' succession, Spanish nobility preferred a Bourbon candidate. In this regard, in September 1700,

Spanish nobility persuaded Charles II to modify his will in favour of Bourbon dynasty, that is to say, in favour of Philip of Anjou who was the grandson of Louis x IV (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, 1979: 15–16). Thus, after death of Charles II on 1 November 1700, Philip of Anjou, also known Philip V, was proclaimed as the 16th King of Spain (Hargreaves-Mawdsley, 1979: 15–16). Maria Anna was exiled to Toledo and lived there until 1706, but on the her nephew Archduke Charles' occupation of this city, this time she was exiled to Bayonne in France. She lived there largely forgotten a few decades. In 1739, she was allowed to return to Spain, but after a year she died on 16 July 1740 (Beem, 2019: 108).

4. Conclusion

This paper reveals that women influenced politics of the Ottoman and Spanish Empires that rested on a principle of absolute authority in the monarch within a male-dominated structure, thus they played a determining role in the government in the 17th century. In addition to the authority vacuum caused by the accession of the inexperienced princes to the throne in the Ottoman Empire from the end of the 16th century, the enthronement of the sultans at a young age in the 17th century, such as Sultan Murad IV's accession to the throne at the age of twelve and Sultan Mehmed IV's at the age of four, played an important role in this development. The appointment of Kösem Sultan and Turhan Sultan as regents gave these *valide* sultans the opportunity to participate in politics, and thus to take an active role in the government. In the Spanish Empire, unlike Charles V and Philip II's reign, from the reign of Philip III, the government was left in the hands of *validos*. This policy caused an authority vacuum in government over time. However, the most important reason was that Charles II who was only four years old when he ascended the throne in 1665. Therefore, the appointment of his mother Mariana as regent by her father Philip III, paved the way for his mother to become involved in government. Mariana acted as a political confidante to her son, thus the King was dominated by his mother. At the same time, as well as his mother, his wives, Marie Louise of Orleans and Mariana of Neuburg found the opportunity to participate in politics, as Charles II could not take control of the government even when he officially ascended the throne as an adult at the age of fourteen due to his congenital illness. Both his wives obtained powerful influence at Court.

In the Ottoman and Spanish Empires, women influenced the decisions made in many areas from appointments and dismissals to military issues and foreign policy. However, at this point, it should be noted that despite their active

roles in government, these women did not rule the state as sovereign. They just had more power in government compared to previous periods. In other words, the role of women in government in both empires did not become official like Catherine II in the Russian Empire or Elizabeth I in the British Empire. Finally, this study does not see women's involvement in politics from a negative perspective. It sees the involvement of women in government in both empires as a result of the political circumstances. Although there were some political, military or economic problems during the period when women were regents, it is not possible to see them as a result of women's involvement in politics. On the contrary, both Kösem Sultan and Turhan Sultan in the Ottoman Empire and Queen Mariana in Spain made great efforts to contribute to the empire within the framework of their knowledge, skills, and experience.

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CHAPTER XI

THE SOCIOCULTURAL AND POLITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE SELJUKIAN PERIOD

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1. Introduction

Throughout the history of humanity, the relations between men and women and the social status of both sexes have differed due to cultural differences in various societies in different geographies. Due to these different perspectives between societies, while a woman is sanctified in one society and even declared a goddess, she is enslaved in another society. This situation varied according to the understanding of the society, its perspective on life, its religious values and the geography in which it lived. For example, during the ancient Greeks, the husband could transfer the woman to someone else while he was alive or after his death, while women had to deal with only housework and sewing in their homes, and in this order, the public space was closed to women. In China, women were not as human beings, they were not given a name, rather they were called with words such as one, two, three, and the woman who mistreated the man was even punished with a stick. Sisters and mothers were not respected in the Sassanids, and girls were not valued in the Arabs, they were buried alive, and women were bought and sold like slaves and even inherited. In this society, where polygamy is considered normal, women were seen only as a tool for the continuation of the lineage (Özdener, 1988:227-228; Afşar and Ögrekçi, 2015:71). The Indians, who burned a widow on her husband's dead body, considered it an example of loyalty (Çakar, 2015:74; Özlü and Çay, 2021:267-268). When we look at marriages in Rome, it is based on the principle of monogamy. Women remained under the rule of their husbands

throughout her marriage (Sögütlü Erişgin, 2013:3). In the Middle Ages, the French caused the death of women by rubbing their scalp with salt on the grounds that the devil had possessed them when they complained about catching a headache. Again, in Europe of the same period, it was even seen that women were accused of being witches and hunted because of their strong intuition and herbaceous skills. In the English, “wives sale” (www.wikipedia.org,2022) was a traditional custom (Hunke, 1972:144). However, such practices were not seen in Turkish societies, and women’s personality and chastity were respected. The famous traveler İbn-i Fadlân said about the Oghuz community: “They don’t know about adultery. If they find out who committed such a crime, they will cut them into two parts. As it is: They tie this person by bringing the branches of two trees closer to one place. Then, they let go of the branches. As a result of the previous state of the branches being restored, that person is divided into two parts.” said (Özdener, 1988:231).

In Turkish mythology, woman is depicted as the divine being and inspiration that caused the creation of the universe. The endless trust, love, respect and devotion to women have always been expressed in stories and epics. Since ancient times, women have been a companion, support and comrade, not a shortcoming of men (Bal and Kayabaşı, 2019:428). As a matter of fact, in a Dede Korkut story, it is reported that Selcen Hatun, who is a member of the Kantura tribe, rode a horse and girded on a sword, and fought bravely with the enemy soldier to save her husband (Kaplan, 1951:100-102). In addition, there is no discrimination between a son and a daughter. Again, in another Dede Korkut story, this is shown as follows: “...Allah has cursed those who have no sons and daughters, we also curse them, let it be known” (...oğlu kız olamayana Allah taala beddua etmiştir biz de beddua ederiz belli bilsin)” (Ergin, 1988:5); in Kutadgu Bilig, the same situation is shown in the following quote:

“One must marry and have a daughter and son (İnsan evlenip, oğul kız sahibi olmalıdır)

Being called childless is an insult to one (Çocuksuz denmesi insana sövgü sayılır)

The tongue of the childless deceased was lamented (Oğulsuz ölenin yakındı dili)

He said, “O who came after me, make a son and daughter (Ey benden sonra gelen, oğul kız edin dedi).”(Hacıp, 2019:275-276).

In Turkish society, from the earliest times, women have taken a privileged place in social, political, economic and cultural life, unlike other societies of which they are contemporary. During the nomadic life, the main pillar of the Turkish society dealing with animal husbandry was again the Turkish woman. While passing from the highlands to the winter quarters, grazing the animals, ensuring the safety of the herds, milking and making yogurt and cheese from this milk, while these products were taken to the market, the Turkish woman became a mother who provided material and moral support to her family, as well as being a merchant. In addition to her own family, Turkish women have also provided social benefits with the social and cultural activities she has done and have been an ambassador in transferring traditions, customs and traditions from generation to generation. Along with these daily activities, the Turkish woman who rides a horse and wears a sword also took part in the wars and assumed the role of ensuring the security of the lands and castles she lived in. The Turkish woman, who also took her place in the political and administrative life, was at the center of the state administration with her place on the left side of the Turkish Hakan. Because the public authority was manifested on the condition that the khan and the woman were together, it was considered valid when an order started with the words “Hakan and Hatun commanded”, not “Hakan ordered”. Hakan did not accept an ambassador alone, he accepted it with his wife next to him. Likewise, the woman was definitely found with the khan in various feasts, congresses, worship, rituals and assemblies (Gökalp, 1990:158-159).

In Turkish states such as Sabars, Göktürks, and Uyghurs, besides having a voice, women also steered politics and became the head of state, and when appropriate, they governed the state as regents. For example, women were present during the reception of the Chinese ambassadors. As a matter of fact, in 721, the Chinese Emperor Huan-tsung sent an embassy delegation to the Gokturks. Bilge Kagan, who welcomed the delegation in Otuken, accepted it in a parliament where the woman and other statesmen were present (Kafesoğlu, 2014:121). In addition to these, the women had separate palaces and “commandments”, and sometimes even the women would accept the ambassadors separately (Kafesoğlu, 2014: 259). On the other hand, widowed women in Turkish societies were not left helpless alone, but rather, they were protected by the Leviratus tradition (marriage of a woman whose husband died with one of her husband’s brothers) (Kafesoğlu, 2014:294).

Another example about the place and importance of women in the administration in the old Turks is found in the Gokturk inscriptions. In these

inscriptions: “*Üze Türk Tengrisi, Türk İduk yeri, subı inçe itmiş: “Türk Budun yok bolmasun; tiyin, budun bolcun, tiyin kangım İteriş Kaganıg, ögüm İl-Bilge Katunıg, Tengri töpüsünde tutup, yügerü kötürmiş erinç*”, meaning that God helped İterish Kagan and his wife to gather the nation and re-establish the state with the cooperation of the sky god and the places and waters. As can be gathered from this, Turkish women had a great importance even in the establishment of a state and there was no discrimination between men and women by the society. Turkish women, like Turkish men, took part freely in all areas of political life. In another inscription, Bilge Kagan says: “You are my mothers, my aunts, my sisters, my women and my daughters (Sizler anam Hatun, hala ve teyzelerim, ablalarım, kadınlarım ve kızlarım)” addressing that each woman within the family is of equal importance (Ögel, 2014:306).

As with the Gokturks, the Uyghurs would be with the Kagan’s wife or mother and help him in state affairs. In the 7th century, when Uyghurs were not an official state, While the head of the Uyghur tribe was at war, his mother Uluğ Hatun maintained order by taking care of internal affairs. During the Asian Huns period, one of the Chinese Emperors, Kao, secretly sent very valuable gifts to Mete’s wife in order to mediate for a hope of salvation. As it can be understood from this, he considered the wife of the Chinese Emperor Mete to be his equal and asked for help. In the same period, Mete Han’s wife officially took part in the agreements made with the Chinese Empire and both represented the state (Koca, 2002:1066; Açıl, 2016:68).

The wife of Bleda, one of the European Hun Emperors, was left as the owner and administrator of the village where she lived after her husband’s death. Again, in the Huns, the ambassadors who came to the Hun country brought various gifts to his wife Arıkan together with Atilla. Arıkan had an extremely ostentatious and ornate mansion in the palace. She had her own private staff that looked after her service. Arıkan accepted the ambassadors, received their gifts and discussed state issues (Ahmetbeyoğlu, 1995:44-45; Ahmetbeyoğlu, 2001:151).

As it can be understood from all these examples, the difference between Turkish women and women in other societies throughout the ages is clearly seen. Although Turks have a patriarchal family structure, women have taken their deserved place in society and played an active role in political and social life. After the adoption of Islam, as before Islam, there was no great change in the position of women in Turkish communities compared to the past, and Turkish women continued to maintain their place in social, economic, political

and military life. This study aims to reveal the exemplary status of Turkish women compared to women in other societies by examining Turkish women during the Seljuk period, which left their mark on world history.

1.2. Women in Seljukian Social Life

Women have been accepted in many different ways throughout history, from her birth as a girl to her position as a wife and mother. Every nation and therefore society has its own traditions and customs, culture, lifestyle and beliefs, and these factors determine the status of women. In this context, the value given to women in the Middle Ages was different for each society. Among these societies, the value that the Seljuks gave to women became more humanistic than their contemporaries, and Seljuk women set an example for their contemporary societies. To explain, Seljuk women played an active role in cultural life in the fields of education and science, which they carried out through art, literature, music and foundations. Examples such as the activities of women in the Seljuks through the Baciyan-i Rum organization, the social services they provide through foundations, the protection of women's rights through laws, and the fact that women have a profession prove her dignity and value.

Baciyan-i Rum¹ organization, which was founded by Turkmen women in Kayseri in the 13th century as a branch of the Anatolian Ahi organization, is a women's organization that cares about people, disregards sexism, and enables women to be more active in life. The organization, which provides great social, cultural and economic benefits in the Seljuk state, also called the "Anatolian Sisters Organization (Anadolu Bacılar Teşkilatı)", was a very important institution for Seljuk women with its many activities such as aiming for development, re-questioning the value given to women, and also making the responsibilities and duties attributed to women comprehensive, improving women in social and cultural fields, assigning new and beneficial responsibilities to women, supporting women's contribution to the economy, and supporting virtuous behaviors based on morality. Baciyan-i Rum organization also

¹ Baciyan-i Rum is an organization that represents the status of the women of the period. While this organization, which was established among women during the Anatolian Seljuk period, was called "Fakireğan" "Women – Dervishes (Hanımlar – Dervişler)" the young girls and women who belonged to the organization called each other "Sister", so the organization got its name from here. See: Mikail Bayram, Baciyan-ı Rum (Anatolian Sisters) and Fatma Bacı, Encyclopedia of Turks, C.6, New Turkey Publications, Ankara, 1999, p.366; Hatice Çubukçu, "Bâciyân-ı Rum and Its Place in Anatolian Sufism" human and society Journal of Sciences, Istanbul, 2015, p.217. pp. 217-231.

provided the organization of craftsmen and craftspeople, as in the Ahi community. It led women to contribute to socio-economic, social and cultural life by directing women to business and art fields that are suitable for their abilities and conditions. The Anatolian Sisters Organization, which also had rules and practices within itself, organized the Seljuk women, enabling them to step into business life, contribute to family income and gain economic freedom. Seljuk women worked in the fields of weaving, rug making, knitting, leather processing and tailoring (Tekin, 2014: 997-988). Thus, the life of Seljuk women was not confined to the confines of the house, that is, the private sphere. Women who had the opportunity to socialize with this method organized meetings among themselves, competed their skills and had pleasant conversations.

Anadolu Bacılar Organization took care of deserted women and took care of all their needs, provided financial and moral support to single girls so that they could get married, took care of elderly and needy women, provided financial assistance to women in financial difficulties, and provided the first examples of today's social responsibility projects with these activities. Therefore, Baciyan-i Rum organization is very important in terms of understanding the role of women in the social and cultural life of the Seljuks. What is more, the advice to the members of the Baciyan-i Rum Organization to "be careful with your soul, your loved one and your spouse" is a sign that the organization absolutely cares about virtue and morality, but this is also an indicator of the Seljuk social mentality (Sirim, 2015:124).

While the basic education of girls in the Seljuk society was given by their families, some families carried out this through private teachers. For example, Sheikh Evhaduddin-Kirmani gave great importance to the education of his daughter Fatma, but when Fatma, who was a mischievous girl, could not be successful, she directed her to the arts of weaving and knitting, but had his other daughter Amine was successful in her education, and made her progress in art. Also, Mevlana was closely interested in the education of his daughter-in-law Kirake Hatun (Biçak, 2007:67-68). In the Seljuk society, women also carried out scientific studies, carried out activities to support education, and at the same time, they showed the intellectual freedom of women by participating in conversations and discussions on the principle of reciprocity with the famous scholars of the period. Seljuk women working in the field of science gave lectures as Alime, trained students, served in the transmission of Hadith, an important branch of science, as well as contributed to science by researching the Qur'an and tafsir and writing works. Some of the women who made a name in the

field of science in the great Seljuk state are “Zeynep from Nishapur, nicknamed “Hurre”, Fatima bint Ebî Ali ed-Dekkâk, Rabia bint Muammer el-İsbehâniyye and Kerîme bint Ahmed el-Merveziyye (Hurre” lakaplı Nişaburlu Zeynep, Fatıma bint Ebî Ali ed-Dekkâk, Rabia bint Muammer el-İsbehâniyye ve Kerîme bint Ahmed el-Merveziyye’dir)” (Gürses, 2021:16).

These scientific studies were also supported by the Seljuk dynasty women, and madrasahs and libraries were built by these women. For example, Hunat Hatun Kulliye, which is the first social complex of the Anatolian Seljuk State, was built in Kayseri by Alaeddin Keykubad’s wife, the mother of Giyaseddin Keyhusrev II, Mahperi Hatun. The complex that has survived to the present day has played an active role in the development of the cultural and commercial life of Kayseri (Sar, 2021: 1296; Cunbur, 1996: 610-612). Moreover, the Madrasa built by Melik’s daughter Efray Hatun in Kırşehir, the Gömeç Hatun Madrasa in Konya, and the Hatuniye Madrasa built by Sitti Radviyye Hatun in Mardin are among the most important examples (Sar, 2021:1297;Cunbur, 1996:596-613).

Foundations played an important role in the continuity, quality and welfare of social life in the Seljuk State. Seljuk cities were developed and beautified through foundations established by prominent statesmen as well as the wives and daughters of the Seljuk Sultans or the prominent women of the period. Great contributions were made to the social life of the society with many social services such as water channels, fountains, roads, bridges, baths, inns, caravanserais, and trade routes built by Seljuk women. The hospitals established through foundations provided free health services, the poor were fed in the almshouses, the orphans were accommodated, and trade was supported through established inns, bazaars and shops. When all these activities are evaluated, the importance of foundations and the role of Seljuk women in social life are clearly seen.

Seljuk women were also interested in literature, wrote Gazels, Odes and Poems and became the subject of these literary genres. It was discovered that Erguvan Hatun, who is estimated to be the only female poet in the Anatolian Seljuk state, was a poet when she wrote poems while writing letters to her husband, Kartal, 2008: 128).

In Turkish societies, guests have always been valuable and respected as a result of Turkish culture. Therefore, in the Seljuks, women hosted their own guests, gave gifts to the guests, and stayed with the male guests with their wives. Ibn Batuta also proved this by saying in his travelogue that Turkish women hosted guests and walked around the bazaar and bazaar. This situation shows the respect and value of women in the family among the Seljuks (Öney, 2008:55-75).

In the Seljuk historical sources, the man as a father, as a husband, as an older brother or sister. In the same way, there are narratives about women sharing a life together with all their difficulties, as a mother, as a wife, as a sister. When the works of art are examined, depictions that support each other and do not have one-sided dominance are encountered, just as described in the sources. In many minai, luster ceramic plates and tiles, it is observed that the women in Seljuk works are depicted with their spouses, in groups of friends or alone. These depictions clearly show us that the value of women as individuals is preserved and that men also display an attitude in this direction (Tekin, 2014:994).

When the depictions in the works of art are examined, it is seen that there is no hierarchical order between men and women in the family or society, the clothes of men and women are of the same quality, there are men as well as women who serve, there are women who ride horses and wield swords, and women and men are depicted in love. From this point of view, besides affecting the cultural life of women, their value and prestige in social life also emerge (Tekin, 2014:995-996).

Anatolian Seljuk women went on a long journey with their servants. Information about some of the women who traveled long distances can be seen in the Travel Books of Ibn Battuta and Ibn Jubayr. In Ibn Battuta's Travel Book, there is information about the journey of a Turkish woman on a horse and her servant, who are on their way to Yenice. As can be seen from the example, Turkish women were able to travel long distances without their husbands or fathers. These travels of ordinary or Seljuk ancestry women without a man from their family are advanced for their age (Gürses, 2021:18-19).

In addition to playing an active role in social and cultural life, Seljuk women also rode a horse and wore a sword just like a soldier. It had also become quite common to see women walking on horseback and dusting the streets of Seljuk. As it is normal for a man to ride a horse and carry a gun, it was quite possible for women to ride horses and have guns, and to work in jobs to support their families. In fact, Seljuk women played an important role in the defense of the city during the Mongols' siege of Kayseri in 1243 (Bayram, 1999:365).

In this period, women's rights and freedoms in the legal field were also deemed essential. To explain, The Great Seljuk Sultan Melikşah gave importance to women's rights and demanded that women's legal rights be regulated and ordered the preparation of a law. Known as the Melikşâh Kanunname (El-Mesâiü'l-Melekşâhiyye Fî Kavâidü'ş-Şerriyye), it was prepared by the advice of Nizâmü'l-Mülk and the leading Islamic lawyers of the time. This law, which includes provisions regarding the protection of women's rights in terms

of family law and the regulation of their legal rights, such as paying the mihr to women during the marriage, respecting the document about witnessing against women at the wedding, has a very important place in terms of eliminating the unfair practices against women in those days and protecting women's rights. This legal study, made centuries ago by the Seljuk State, is of great importance both in terms of the value given to women and in terms of Turkish history (Menekşe, 2020: 569-579).

2. Women in Seljuk Political Life

Women, who played an important role in social, cultural and political life in Turkish society before Islam, maintained this role in the post-Islamic period as well. As we mentioned above, the Seljuk woman, who had an important place in social and cultural life, continued to be active in political life as well. The Turkish woman, who always had the right to speak in the functioning of the state, continued this strong position in the Seljuk period and was influential in both domestic and foreign policy. The women of the Seljuk dynasty not only helped their husbands when necessary, but also participated in the struggle for power, thanks to the opportunities and organizations they had (İnce, 2019:272). In addition, Seljuk women ruled the state in the absence of their spouses and sons, or in the event of their spouses' death, by taking the title of *guardian* or *Naibe (temporary deputy)* because their sons ascended to the throne at a young age (Can, 2011: 286). Apart from these special cases, Seljuk dynasty women accepted ambassadors in war assemblies and had the authority to issue edicts and orders. This situation shows us very clearly that the Seljuk women have an undeniable level of political knowledge, which also strengthens our estimations at the point that women receive political education from a young age².

If we were to give a few examples from the women of the Seljuk dynasty who made a name for themselves with their stance and brave attitudes in politics, one of them is Altuncan Hatun. Altuncan, who had his first marriage with the Governor of Harezm, Altuntaş, gave birth to a boy named Enuşirvan from this marriage. When Shahmelik, acting on behalf of Ghaznavid Sultan Mesud, the Governor of Harezm, was removed from politics, he took refuge in Çağrı and Tuğrul Beys. A marriage proposal was made to Altuncan Hatun, the widow of Harezmşah, who died shortly after this incident, by Tuğrul Bey, and the woman who accepted the offer thus crossed the path with the Seljuk palace (Cunbur, 1996:587; Kitapçı, 1994:16). Altuncan Hatun became a loved

² For more information See: İnce, s. 271-278.

and respected person in the Seljuk palace and took an active role in politics by gaining the appreciation of her husband. With her good morals and a solid personality, she soon became Tuğrul's greatest assistant and adviser (Kuşçu, 2016: 173-174). As a matter of fact, Mervanoğlu Nasrüddevle Ahmet wanted to intercede by sending valuable gifts to Hatun because he was afraid of Tuğrul Bey, knowing Altuncan's role in politics and that Tuğrul Bey trusted his word. Likewise, when the contemporary Byzantine emperor sent an envoy to Tuğrul Bey, he also sent valuable gifts to the Altuncan line and asked him to mediate between the two countries for peace (Kitapçı, 1994:16). In addition to her strong character, Altuncan Hatun went down in history as a brave woman who could gather a sword-wielding army and fight. In 1058, the Baghdad garrison of the Buwayhi Dynasty, Arslan Besasiri, cooperated with İbrahim Yinal in order to weaken the Seljuk administrative structure, and by saying that she would help İbrahim Yinal to ascend to the Seljuk throne, she made him rebel against his half-brother. Tuğrul Bey, who heard that İbrahim Yinal was on his way to Hemedan by hoisting the flag of rebellion, wanted to dominate the Turkmen tribes to reach Hemedan before İbrahim Yinal did, and to prevent them from recruiting and arming. However, Tuğrul Bey could not prevent İbrahim Yinal from receiving the support of the Turkmen tribes, and was defeated by a sudden raid in front of Hamadan. Thereupon, Tuğrul Bey took shelter in the Hemedan castle and asked his wife Altuncan Hatun and his vizier Amid al- Mulk Kundiri to send reinforcements to go to Baghdad beforehand. As soon as Altuncan Hatun received this news, she took action and decided to set out for Hamadan. However, the Abbasid Caliph stopped the Altuncan line, arguing that this situation was dangerous and that if the army left Baghdad, the country would remain defenseless and Arslan Besasiri would pose a threat again (Sevim, 1997:30-31). Amid al-Mulk Kunduri also supported this idea and started preparations to enthrone Enuşirvan. Understanding the ulterior motives of Altuncan, Kündürî and Enuşirvan, he put his own son and the vizier in chains, gathered the Oghuzs around him and went to help his wife by providing the necessary equipment. Thus, Tuğrul Bey left this difficult process with victory (Sevim, 1997:33-35). Altuncan Hatun left her mark on history not as the mother of Enuşirvan, but as the Turkish mother who founded a state, by acting bravely in a way that befits a Turkish woman in a very critical period (Cunbur, 1996:588; Kitapçı, 1994:17) Mehmet Altay Köymen used the expressions "Turkish Woman Who Saved the State" about Altuncan Hatun, who made great contributions to the Seljuk dynasty. As it can be understood from here, Seljuk women, when their spouses

were in a difficult situation during the war, took up swords, mounted horses and went to war with the soldiers in their retinue, not only that, they even changed the fate of the wars (Köymen, 1977:44-45).

Altuncan Hatun died at a young age in December 1060 due to the accumulation of water in her stomach. Before she died, she asked her wife to marry the daughter of the Abbasid caliph for the survival of the state and said: "Do whatever it takes to marry the caliph's daughter! Thus, you will attain the happiness of both the world and the hereafter!" She gave all her property to the caliph's daughter as a dowry for the realization of this marriage contract (Cunbur, 1996:589;Sevim, 1997:63;Kitapçı, 1994:15).

When the Seljuk State wanted to strengthen its ties with the states with which it had political relations, they sometimes resorted to establishing political marriages. One of the best examples for this is the marriage of Çağrı Bey's daughter, Hatice Arslan Hatun, to the Abbasid Caliph Kaim Biemrillâh (Kaymak, 2014:49;İnce, 2019:273-274;Kitapçı, 1994:29-31). The main purpose here is to strengthen political and religious authority by establishing kinship ties with Ahl as-Sunnah. Thus, Hatice Arslan Hatun was deemed appropriate to marry Zahirëtü'd-din, the son of Abbasid Caliph Kaim Biemrillâh, the heir of the caliphate, and after Zahirëtü'd-din died during the pre-marriage preparations, she married the caliph Kaim Biemrillâh in 1056 (Kaçın, 2017:105). After the wedding ceremony, the woman set off from Hamadan to Baghdad with her dowry. In the sources, it is determined that the dowry of Hatice Arslan Hatun had never been seen before. This situation shows us how much the Seljuk State valued its women. Again, upon his wife's will, Tuğrul's vizier Amidülmülk, who wanted to marry the daughter of the Abbasid caliph, Seyyide Hatun, and his niece Hatice Arslan Hatun, sent 100,000 gold, 100 clothes, 2250 pieces of jewelry, 1-3 weighing 120 pearls, 640 red rubies, pink bedehshan ornament, 58 pieces of turquoise, 28 pieces of emeralds with glitter stripes, 8-12 pieces of pure glass, 14 pieces of jewelry, crown, bracelet, earrings, ruby-embroidered anklet, gold bowls, ewers, quilt, bed sheet covers, carpet, 35 concubines, 20 The amount of mihr, consisting of servants, 80 horses and mules, a military unit of 100 and tents, revealing the value given to women in Seljuk society (Cunbur, 1996: 589-590).

Meanwhile, the Abbasid caliph Kaim Biemrillah, who was afraid of the caliphate to pass to the Seljuks, started to act indifferent towards his wife. Hatice Arslan Hatun informed her uncle about her discomfort in this matter by letter and conveyed that she wanted to return to Rey. After his request was accepted,

he stayed in the city of Rey until the death of his uncle. Alparslan, who replaced Tugrul Bey, sent Hatice Arslan Hatun to Baghdad in order to reconcile with the caliph. Hatice Arslan Hatun, who set out for Rey after Alparslan's death in 1072, never returned to Baghdad. In 1074, one year after the death of his wife, Kaim Biemrillâh, she married with Feramuz b. Kakuye ed- Deylemi (Kaçın,2017:97). Hatice Arslan Hatun lived during the reigns of, Tugrul Bey, Alparslan and Melihşah, and was mentioned as the "greatest Seljuk Sultan". This woman, who left her mark on the history of the Seljuks, died in 1090 (Kitapçı, 1994:54).

While Sultan Alparslan was on his way to Egypt, when he received the news that the Byzantine Emperor Romanos Diogenes had set out with a large army to expel the Turks from Anatolia, he began to prepare for war. One of the remarkable events during these war preparations is that Sultan Alparslan sent his wife to Hamadan to gather military power along with his vizier Nizam al-Mulk. It is also known that Sultan Alparslan's sister, Gevher Hatun, took action with the Turkmen army gathered around her to save her husband Erbasgan. This situation is a very important example in terms of proving how important and valued women undertake in the social and political and military fields in the Seljuks (Muhammedi, 2013:14;Terzi, 2012:19).

Another beloved and respected woman among the Seljuk Sultans is Zübeyde Hatun. Zübeyde Hatun is the first wife of Melikşah, daughter of İsmail Yakuti, granddaughter of Çağrı Bey. It was desired to get the support of Yakuti in order to increase the power of the Seljuk dynasty by marrying the daughter of Melikşah İsmail Yakuti. They had two children named Cevher Hatun and Berkyaruk. Zübeyde Hatun played an important role in the struggle for the throne that started after the death of her husband (Oruç, 2021, 319). Zübeyde Hatun, who was not involved in state affairs until her son Berkyaruk's reign, came to the fore because of the throne fights that started in this period. After the death of Melikşah, a fierce struggle started between two mothers, Zübeyde Hatun and Terken Hatun, who wanted to enthrone their sons (Can, 2011:395; Köprülü, 2001:556-557). In particular, Terken Hatun did her best to get her son Mahmut to take the throne, and resorted to all kinds of ways. Worried about this situation, Zübeyde Hatun was relieved when Nizam al-Mulk and his men supported Berkyaruk. However, this time Terken Hatun took Zübeyde Hatun's brother İsmail Yakuti to his side with the promise of marriage. Afterwards, Terken Hatun took action against Berkyaruk after managing to lure Kürboğa with her, and fought near Kerec and defeated Yakut, the uncle of Berkyaruk (Cunbur, 1996:591-592). Böylece Berkyaruk Türkan Hatun'a karşı taht mücadelesini

kazanmış ve Abbasi halifesi Muktedi Biemrillah'dan adına hutbe okutulmasını istemiştir. By giving a sermon on behalf of the Caliph Berkyaruk, he took the nickname of Rükneddin and declared his Sultanate (Oruç, 2021:324). However, in order to defeat Berkyaruk, Terken Hatun, who did not give up on her struggle, she sent news to Melikşah's brother Tâcuddevle Tutuş after İsmail b. Yakuti, and made an agreement about marriage. Tutuş started to struggle for his own independence after the death of Melikşah and with this move of Terken Hatun, he accelerated the works and raised the flag of rebellion. In order to suppress the rebellion, Berkyaruk commissioned the Emir of Aleppo Kasımüddevle and Kürboğa to help Aksungur and Emir Bozan from Urfa. Berkyaruk's amirs fought against Tutuş near Rûyân village and were defeated. After this victory, Tutuş came to Baghdad and had a sermon read in his name. Berkyaruk, who learned of this move of his uncle, left Baghdad and set out for Isfahan. Terken Hatun fell ill on the way to meet Tutuş and died in 487/1094. Even though the marriage agreement was broken with the death of Hatun, Tutuş did not give up the struggle for the throne. Berkyaruk was enthroned by Mahmut's men after his brother Mahmut died of smallpox. He defeated his uncle by fighting with his uncle Tutuş on the plain of Daşılı/Taşlı village near Rey in order to secure his throne. Thus, Zübeyde Hatun started to be active in the state administration, and even though the chief vizier Müeyyidü'l-mulk, who was disturbed by this situation, wanted to make a gap between the sultan and his mother, he could not be successful (Özaydın, 1987:489). As a mother, Zübeyde Hatun had a say in the sultanate and state administration and participated in most of the expeditions made during the Berkyaruk period. Zübeyde Hatun was strangled at the age of forty-two by the vizier Müeyyidülmülk, who had enmity between them (Oruç, 2021:327). It is possible to give many more examples about women playing a role in Seljuk politics, but only a few examples are given because this subject is too broad to fit into this article.

The fact that the women of the Seljuk dynasty had the right to speak in the administration of the country led to negative results as well as positive results. As a matter of fact, as mentioned before, Tuğrul Bey's wife Altuncan Hatun was positioned as the Turkish woman who saved the state, while Melikşah's wife Terken Hatun weakened the central authority due to her ambitions and drove the state to destruction. Therefore, the Anatolian Seljuks avoided giving administrative autonomy to the members of the dynasty in order not to endanger the survival of the state due to these and similar situations experienced during the Great Seljuks period. For this reason, by not giving special rights such as palace,

divan, dormitory and so on, their political powers were restricted compared to the past (Biçak, 2007:7-8). However, women's effectiveness continued in this period through their military roles, diplomatic marriages in the political field, interstate relations, and foundation works in the social and cultural field. In fact Kılıçarslan's wife Ayşe Hatun is one of the most striking of examples of this. During the siege of İznik by the Crusaders in 1097, while Sultan Kılıçarslan was under the siege of Malatya, the sultan's wife Ayşe Hatun, her brother and children were in the defense of the castle along with the soldiers. The Sultan was late because he was in Malatya at this time, and when he arrived, he realized that he would not be successful and told the people in the castle to take care of themselves and withdrew. In this difficult siege, when those in the castle decided to surrender, Ayşe Hatun and the others were hosted by the Eastern Roman Emperor in a manner befitting the sultans. After Sultan Kılıçarslan I's fight with Emir Çavlı, he died, resulting in Ayşe Hatun to leave for Malatya with her son Tuğrul Arslan, and the son to rise to the power with her by his side as a surrogate. Consequently, Ayşe Hatun, who came to a dominant position in the administration, became the first politically active woman in the Anatolian Seljuk State. Ayşe Hatun, who wanted to increase her son's political power against the Danishmends in the later political process, went to the Artuqid ruler Belek b. Behram, and said: "The Sultan praised you many times and said that among all Turkish emirs, there is no one as smart and powerful as Belek. I want you to protect me and my children with your name," marrying him and made Tuğrul Arslan assume the role of atabeg. Thus, even though Ayşe Hatun received the moral support of Belek b. Behram, she had a say in the management of Malatya (Metin, 2017:39-40; Yınaç, 2001:469; Demirkent, 2002:396).

One of the women who has an important place in the history of the Turkish Seljuk State is Tamara, a Georgian woman who is the wife of Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev II. Tamara, who accepted Islam after marrying Gıyâseddin Keyhüsrev II, made her power and influence very effective in political life by influencing the sultan in the center of the state, especially during the period when the Turkish Seljuk State came under Mongol domination. Her influence on Gıyâseddin II was as remarkable as her being depicted on the silver coins next to the sultan himself. Again, as a result of this marriage, the number and influence of Georgian soldiers in the Seljuk army increased (Subaşı, 2016:392-393).

In 13th century, the health center constructed in commemoration of the daughter of Anatolian Seljuk Sultan Kılıçarslan, Gevher Nesibe Hatun, has provided an important service in the field of health for centuries and has almost

broken new ground in this field. On the epitaph of this building, which still stands in all its majesty today, it is written that “*Kılıçarslan’s son built this hospital in 602 as the testament of Kılıçarslan’s daughter, the name of religion and the world, Melike Gevher Nesibe, during the reign of the Great Sultan Keyhüsrev*”. Gevher Nesibe Hatun, who even gave her name to Erciyes University Faculty of Medicine today, is perhaps the most mentioned woman among Anatolian Seljuk women³.

4. Conclusion

The place of women in Turkish society, who has different socio-cultural, political and economic status according to the time they live and the society they belong to, has been positioned in a better position and respectable than other societies throughout history. While women take an active part in life in Turkish society, they have social, political, economic, social, cultural and military roles.

During the Seljuk period, women continued to have a very good position compared to the women of other societies that were contemporary. While Seljuk women took their real value and place in family and social life, they also played an active role in the political and military fields. Due to the conditions of the period, the Seljuk woman fulfilled the role of wife and mother in the family, while she was active in agriculture, she also took on the role of a soldier defending the lands she lived in when necessary by riding a horse and wearing a sword. Thanks to the Anatolian Sisters Organization, each of the Seljuk women, who played a very active role in the social field, served as a soldier during the Mongolian invasion. On the other hand, the women of the Seljuk dynasty also

³ One of the daughters of Seljuk sultans, Kılıçarslan the II’s daughter (?-1204), Gevher Nesibe Sultan, fell in love with the chief sipahi (army commander) of the palace, but the elder brother of Gevher Nesibe Sultan, the ruler Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I is against this. The chiefsipahi sent by the ruler to the war wins the war, but returns injured and dies after a while. After this event, Gevher Nesibe Sultan fell ill from her sadness and fell ill with tuberculosis. After finding out about his sister’s situation, Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I visits her on her deathbed. With a lot of regret, he apologizes and asks for her last wish. Gevher Nesibe Sultan says: “I fell into the claws of a remediless grievances. It is impossible for me to be saved. None of the doctors have been able to help me. I am now a pilgrim of the hereafter. If you wish, have a hospital built in my name with my wealth. In this hospital, on the one hand, the afflicted are healed, and on the other hand, solutions are sought for incurable problems. May my words heal both the commander’s wounds and those who will suffer my heartache. May this hospital train famous physicians and surgeons. Do not take a penny from anyone here. Let this be a foundation for me.” . Gıyaseddin Keyhüsrev I, , very emotionally affected by his sister’s last wish, fulfilled his sister’s will. See: Ahmet Hulusi Köker, “Gevher Nesibe Hospital and Medicine Madrasa”, Religious Affairs Encyclopedia of Islam, Vol.14, Istanbul, 1996, pp.39-42; Merçil, Erdoğan, History of Muslim Turkish states, Bilge Culture and Arts, Istanbul, 2013, p.168; Sar, ibid, p.1296.

played an active role in political life, and took their place with their spouses in the receptions of ambassadors and ceremonies. These women, who were the assistants and advisors of their husbands, administered the state as regents when appropriate. In addition to this, these women, who have great dexterity in the military field, did not hesitate to fight the enemy by going to the head of these armies when they were gathering the army that their husbands would fight.

In addition to all these, the Seljuk women, who ensured unity and solidarity in the society through the foundations they established, made very positive contributions to social life through the madrasahs, inns, baths, caravanserais, and hospitals they had built, and left great traces in Turkish history. Seljuk women, who supported scientific studies and scientists, were also closely interested in fine arts such as literature and music. The Seljuk State also paid special attention to the social and legal rights of women and issued laws to secure these rights. In conclusion, the Seljuk woman, like the Turkish women before her, found the value she deserved in every field and acted as an embassy to transfer this value to the Turkish societies after her.

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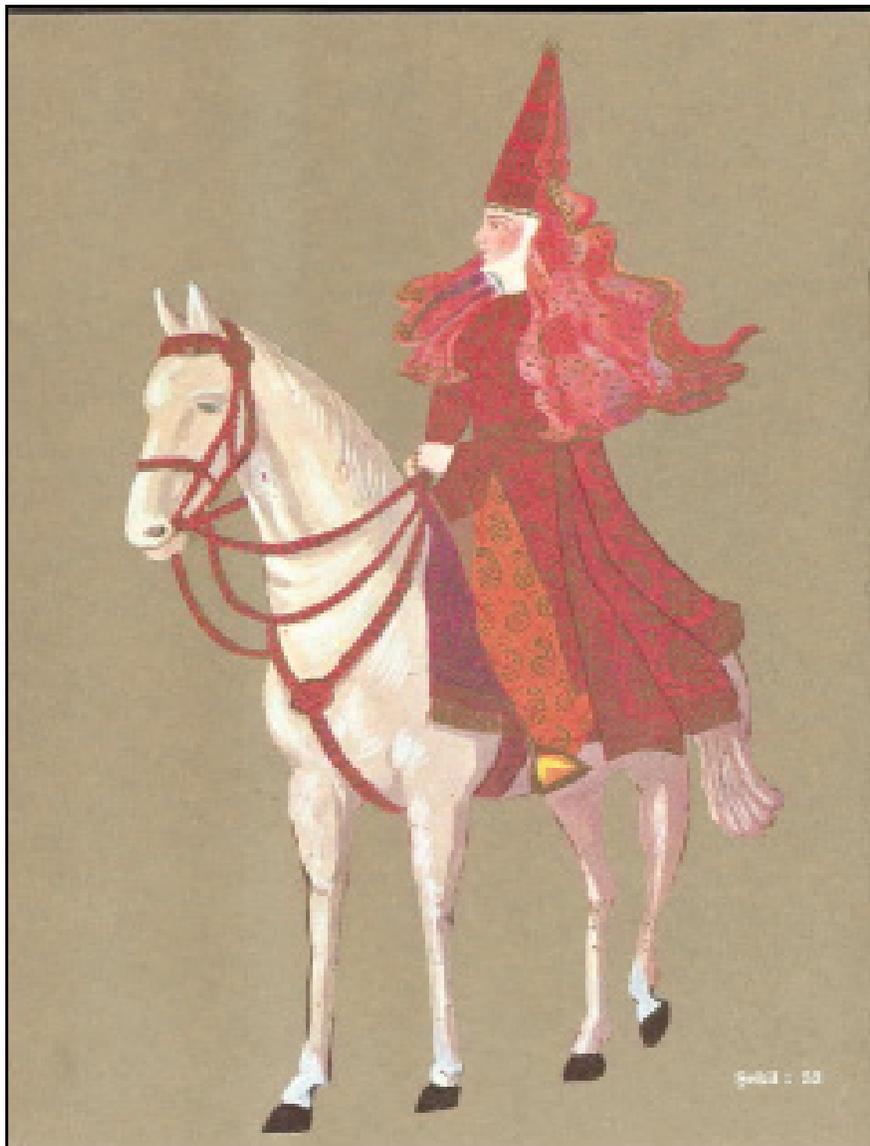
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Appendices



Appendix 1: Image of a Central Asian Turkish woman
(Bayer, 2010: 7).



Appendix 2: Image of a Seljuks woman (Bayer, 2010: 22).



Appendix 3: Fur image of Seljuks women (Bayer, 2010: 25).

CHAPTER XII

WOMEN MINSTRELS AND GRIEF, SADNESS, UNHAPPY MARRIAGES

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1. Introduction

Minstrels, as folk artists, have an important place in folk culture as the keepers of the world view, life order and traditions of the society they live in and transfer them to future generations. They are the producer, carrier and updater of folk literature and folk music (Çınar, 2008).

Ensar Aslan, who makes academic publications for minstrels, states that the word minstrel means ‘loving, passionate’ in Arabic. He mentions that since the 14th and 15th centuries, Arabic-Islamic literature in Anatolia began to affect Turkish culture and literature, and as a result, the definition of minstrel began to be used for folk poets who wrote poems on religious-mystical subjects based on old traditions. (Ansar, 2011: 183).

According to Fuad Köpürülü’s research, After 15th century, the term minstrel began to be used instead of poet in Azerbaijan and some parts of Anatolia. The definition of “poet instrumentalists” was also used instead of “minstrel”. In many parts of Anatolia, saz poets sang not only their own poems, but also various works of minstrels with saz/baglama (Köpürülü, 2004:12; Çınar, 2013).

Sevilay Çınar et al. list some of the features frequently seen in minstrels in their study as follows : Minstrels play saz, compose and perform spontaneous poems, compete in spontaneous singing duels, get their training in a master-apprentice relationship, drink wine, travel, play the instrument and sing among the people in coffee houses or festivals, weddings and private meetings; tell folk tales. Furthermore, they have a predominantly oral literary tradition, they reflect

their worldview, concepts of art, way of life and tradition of their own society; sometimes they are entertainers, sometimes they are strong social critics; they are masters who have a key role in conveying folk literature and music; they give more importance to poetry than music; not only from minstrelsy, but also from farming, stockbreeding, etc. are also a means for them to earn their livelihood. They usually do not make a living entirely from minstrelsy. They are professional and expert musicians, with well-trained memories. They can recite the stories of their masters' compositions by heart (Çınar, 2013).

Women minstrels carry folk literature to future generations by using traditional Turkish musical instruments and speaking skills. The development of generations takes place with great effort in the expressions, hands and languages of women (Turan, Saluk). Studies for women minstrels only started in the first quarter of the 20th century.

It has been very difficult for women minstrels to practice the art of minstrelsy and to maintain this tradition during the periods when the minstrelsy was dominated by men. Today, it is seen that social media is very powerful, women minstrels make their voices heard more easily, they publish their own videos, and their compositions are composed and sung on a national basis. In the last century, we see that there are sadness, grief and unhappiness in the love life of women minstrels. In this respect, the effects of sadness and grief on love in women minstrels will be analyzed.

2. Minstrelsy Tradition and Women Minstrels

According to Erman Artun, “Minstrelsy is a tradition that has been shaped through centuries of experience, has its own unique performance tradition, a structure based on tradition, and rules that must be followed in order to be a minstrel and maintain it.” (Artun, 1998). According to Pınar Şahin, “the minstrel has been an interpreter of the feelings and thoughts of the society in which they live in the face of economic, social, cultural and political events by using plain spoken language in every age and in every environment (Şahin, 2021).”

In order to be a minstrel, the minstrel has to drink wine, dream, take a pseudonym from their master, and play saz. The minstrel determines a new lifestyle for themselves and takes on a new identity and is named accordingly. The male-dominated society did not see minstrelsy as appropriate because of the roles deemed appropriate for women. Like men, women minstrels could not be found in village rooms, coffee houses, and weddings, and they could not travel to the city, and they had a social role of motherhood due to their biological

fertility. Even if the woman became a minstrel as a result of her dream, she could not perform her art sufficiently, and sometimes their marriages prevented them from performing the art of minstrelsy (Şahin, 2021).

According to Sevilay Çınar female minstrels could not bring their baglamas to the events they had to attend without informing their relatives; they could not have a baglama whenever they wanted, or they were forbidden to touch it even though they had a baglama at home. At the slightest mistake, their instruments were broken and they were removed from the house (Çınar 2016; Şahin, 2021).

In the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic, women minstrels living in Turkey in the last century appear as extremely sad, unwanted, in unhappy marriages and divorced. Among the women minstrels, there are Makbûle Lem'ân Hanım, Yaşar Nezihe (Bükülmez), Nigâr Hanım, İhsan Raif Hanım ve Şükûfe Nihal Şem'î'nin Bülbülü Emine Hanım, Hasibe Ramazanoğlu, Cevheriye Bânu Hanım, Âşık Şerife Soykan, Ayşe Berk, Hasibe Hatun, Dudu Karabıyık, Fatma Oflaz. This research looks into the effects of the troubles, sorrows, early marriages and divorces of Fatma Behice Batur, Şah Turna, İlkin Manya (Sarıcakız), Ayten Çınar, Senem Akkaş (Aşık Şahsenem), Sürmelican Kaya (Aşık Sürmelican), Ana Yeter (Yeter Yıldırım), Âşık Fatma (Fatma Üzümlü) and Vasfiye Hanım (VT).

2.1. *Fatma Makbule Leman (1865-1898)*

Fatma Makbule Leman was well educated in a wealthy and intellectual family and had knowledge of western culture. With a lyrical discourse in her poems and a feminine discourse in her stories, she becomes a pioneer for women who are brought to a secondary position next to men, with the identity of an enlightened woman writer who is open to modernization and offers reforms in line with the acceptance of society (Eliuz, 2008).

Makbule Leman lived for thirty-four years and spent most of her life with illnesses. She wrote about Mehmet Fuat's wife had been sick since the day she was born in Ma'kes-i Hayal, and that she was patient without complaining, with the following poem (Ma'kes-i Hayal, 174):

“She was blessed with patience, she wouldn't complain.

Not having seen any rest since the day she was born

(Sabr ile me'luf idi, etmezdi şikâyet

Görmemişken istirahat doğduğu gündən beri)”

Her marriage lasted seven years. While describing her feelings for nature in Hazan İçi Bahar, which she wrote in 1887 when she was twenty-two years old, she says that “the frailty of seeing makes the world look like cruelty to her (*za’f-ı basarın kendisine alem-i baharı zulmet gibi gösterdiğini*)” (Tercüman-ı Perakende 1887). Makbule Leman is known to have visual impairment and problems with her knees and bones. From 1895 onwards, the disease increased. Mehmet Fuad says in *Zevcemin Kabrini Ziyaret, Ma’ kes-i Hayal*, 75; Uğurcan, 1990):

“You burned, melted, put your trust
 You have endured both
 The remedies gave no benefit
 Care remained vain
 To all the ethics that I summoned
 They implied peril to me
 (*Yandın, eridin tevekkül ettin*
Sen bunlara hem tahammül ettin.
Bir faide vermedi devalar
Bi-faide kaldı itinalar
Celbeylediğim bütün etibba
Eylerdi bana vahametima)”

Makbule Leman, in Hazan İçinde Bahar, accepts Bahar as sickness and sadness, and Hazan as health and joy. The disease prevented her from seeing the beauties of spring (Bahar) and turned herself into “*sage of the diseased*” (pir-i alile) “. While Makbule Leman weeps for her own illness, she believes that she will lay the flowers and leaves on the ground, just as she would weep for the spring nightingales, the moisture in her leaves and grass, just as she cries. But the autumn (Hazan) brings joy and health, and the poet says, “You make alive, o Rab. I used to think that in the dark tomb, your heart will remain from feeling. Even though I spent the spring in torment, it will be spring in the fall for me” (Uğurcan, 1990).

2.2 Yaşar Nezihe Bükülmez (1882-1971)

Yaşar Nezihe Bükülmez is one of the important women poets of Turkish Literature with her literary identity and life spanning more than half a century

(Tatar, 1997: 70). When she was only 6 years old, she lost her mother Kaya Hanım, and her aunt, who was known to be crippled, grew up without being taken care of, and her father was also known to be drunk. She gets so emotional about her late mother that she reads the poem “*O Lord, it was not befitting to die/ to be buried in that ground while I was there* (Ya Rabbî yakışmıyordu ölmek/ Ben varken o toprağa gömülmek)” implying that she does not consider death fitting to her mother and is so sad that she prefers to die instead of her mother (Tatar, 2012:71).

Yaşar Nezihe’s father, Kadri Efendi, is very poor and as a way out, he marries his daughter to Atıf Zahir Efendi, who is twenty-seven years older than her and has been married 3 times and has no children (Toros, 1992: 132). Strangely enough, Atıf Efendi blames his wife for not having children and divorces her. Yaşar Nezihe Hanım’s marriages, lost children and unhappiness caused by her financial difficulties were reflected in her poems.

She makes her second marriage to engineer Fevzi Bey and had three sons named Sedat, Suat and Vedat. Dramatically, Fevzi Bey falls in love with another woman and leaves his wife and children. His sons Sedat and Suat die of starvation. Five years later, Engineer Fevzi Bey calls Yaşar Nezihe home while he is seriously ill. While Fevzi Bey is living his last minutes in his cot, Yaşar asks Nezihe for a sip of water. After drinking the water, he says with tearful eyes, ‘Forgive me, Nezihe!’ says. Yaşar Nezihe with her heart that has become calloused by pain with the loss of her two children and five years of torment, I can’t! she say. After three seconds, his eyes close and his hand in her palm becomes cold as ice and dies (Toros, 1992: 131). Yaşar Nezihe calls out her unforgiving husband in her second poetry book named “Feryatlarım”, in her poem called “Don’t Forget” (Tatar 2012. P.74):

“You didn’t bring a slice of dry bread for two years,
I would work for you and never get tired
I wouldn’t believe it if someone said this
Six years of labor buried in grave of forgetfulness”
(Getirmedin iki yıl bir dilim kuru ekme,
Senin için çalışırdım hiç usanmazdım
Biri bu hâli söylese inanmazdım
Gömüldü makber-i nisyâna altı yıllık emek)”

Yaşar Nezihe expresses her pain for her dead children, Sedat and Suat, in her poem as follows (Tatar, 2012:74):

“O cosy flowers that fell right when they were buds
 Oh all the hard work I gave you is ruined
 Roses and butterflies don’t console me
 I think the angels in the sky would cry for me
 The angel of death doesn’t come here, I don’t know what he is waiting for”
*(Ey gonca iken hâke düşen nazlı çiçekler
 Mahvoldu size verdiğim âh bunca emekler
 Etmez müteselli beni güller kelebekler
 Ağlar sanırım hâlîme göklerde melekler
 Gelmez melekü’l-mevt orda bilmem ki ne bekler)”*

Nezihe Bükülmez writes poems at the age of 29-30 in Terakki and as a mother of a child, she made her third marriage with Yusuf Niyazi Erdem, whom she had met before. This marriage lasted 50 days (Tatar, 2012:76).

Yaşar Nezihe writes articles and poems in every issue of the Kadınların Dünyası, which is the first journal that belongs entirely to women with all the writings and poems, and the cover art of the 124th issue of the magazine is published with the title “The Great Poet Yaşar Nezihe Hanımefendi” (Bükülmez, 1913: 1; Tatar, 2012: 77). During the surname revolution, Yaşar Nezihe chose the surname “Bükülmez”, which means unbending, and describes this situation as follows (Tatar, 2012: 82): “Don’t assume I don’t bend after seeing my surname / Life twisted my back when I was young .” At the age of eighty-nine, her difficult life ends and she passed away on 6 November 1971 (Tatar, 2012: 83).

2.3. Nigar Hanım (1856-1918)

Nigâr Hanım lived during the Tanzimat period. She was born in Istanbul as the daughter of Hungarian Osman Pasha. She studied at Kadıköy French School. She started poetry at a young age, played the piano well and spoke eight languages. She had three sons named Salih Münir, Salih Feridun and Salih Kerâmet from her unhappy marriage at the age of 14 and then separated from her husband (www.nazanbekiroglu.org , 2022).

Nigâr Hanım’s third book of poetry, *Nirân*, was published in 1896 . The poet was then thirty-four years old. Her life was in pain and sorrow. She officially divorced her husband İhsan Bey in 1899. They married for the second time in 1895. However, İhsan Bey was going to deceive Nigar Hanım again as before and make her unhappy. In fact, her bad relationship with her husband was the main reason for her unhappiness and despair. Her poem “İhsâsâtım” in her book *Nirân* is a kind of clear expression of this (Demirdağ, Refika Altıkulaç 2015, p 370). She made herself accepted by the society with her clothes, speech and behavior. She leads the view that the place of women in social life should change. Nigâr Hanım gave women poets the courage to write and publish their writings. She worked as the editor-in-chief for a period of time in the “Journal of Women (Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete)” She died of typhus disease on April 1, 1918 in Istanbul (www.anthology.com:2022).

2.4. *İhsan Raif Hanım (1877-1926)*

İhsan Raif Hanım was born in Beirut . Her father is Köse Mehmed Raif Pasha . She took lessons from the poet Rıza Tevfik and wrote poems as the first Turkish woman poet to use the syllabic meter (wikipedia İhsan Raif Hanım: 2022). İhsan Raif Hanım had been married four times and had 2 sons and 1 daughter: Ahmet Hikmet Bora (1891-1970), Hatice Mehruba Atay (1895-1984 and Mehmet Akif Bora (1899-1972) from her first marriage. The beginning and continuation of her first marriage is dramatic. While living in his father’s Taş mansion, director Mehmet Ali opens the door of the room she is in and tries to kidnap İhsan Raif Hanım. He cannot achieve this, but her father does not accept this incident and does not listen to his innocent daughter, who has no contact with the man, and accepts the incident, which he considers “breaking into the house”, as a stain on the name of the family, accepts his daughter as “dirty” and marries his daughter to Mehmet Ali (Aydoğra, 2022). The 13-year-old girl married Mehmet Ali with the urging of her father, and her father sent them to Izmir in exile, and became a mother at the age of fourteen. İhsan Raif Hanım’s unhappiness does not end with her marrying the wrong person. On top of that, she learned that her husband, Mehmet Ali, also had a wife named Aspasya in Istanbul and that she had a child. İhsan Raif Hanım expresses her silence about all the events that happened to her in the autumn when the poplars were falling leaves in İzmir with the following poem (Aydoğra, 2022):

“I do not complain to anyone; I cry to myself
I tremble as I look at my future like a criminal

The curtain of oppression has been drawn, I'm afraid of my good fate
I tremble as I look at my future like a criminal..."

*(Kimseye etmem şikâyet; ağlarım ben halime
Titrerim mücrim gibi baktıkça istikbalime
Perde-i zulmet çekilmiş korkarım ikbalime
Titrerim mücrim gibi baktıkça istikbalime)"*

Her second marriage, which lasted very short, was with Şahabettin Süleyman, the director of Rûbab magazine and one of the founders of Fecr-i Ati. This happy marriage came to an end with the death of Şahabettin Süleyman in Switzerland after contracting the Spanish flu. In these mourning days, she reads her poem "Don't Make Me say (Söyletme)" (Aydoğan, 2022):

"I saw that love was a dream, I woke up;
I thought the love would remain;
I burned on fire in vain;
This pain is worse than death to me.
*(Aşk rüya imiş gördüm, uyandım;
Muhabbet baki kalacak sandım;
Beyhüde yere ateşe yandım;
Bu acı bana ölümden beter.)"*

In April 1926, at the age of 49, she went to Paris for appendicitis surgery and died during this time (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/İhsan_Raif_Hanım, 2022).

2.5. Şükûfe Nihal (1896-1973)

She was born in Istanbul as the daughter of Nazire Hanım and Miralay Ahmet Abdullah Bey (Argunşah, 2018). Şükûfe Nihal was married twice and fell in love twice out of wedlock. Her marriages ended in separation. She fell in love with two people. His loves were Osman Fahri and Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel. Şükûfe, thinking of her daughter Günay, requested marriage from Faruk Nafiz, but Şükûfe did not accept this offer because of her daughter. Şükûfe Nihal expressed her feelings at the end of this love by writing the novel "I "Return Alone (*Yalnız Dönüyorum*)". Faruk Nafiz wrote poems about this unforgettable love in his novel "Star Rain" "Yıldız Yağmur". Selim İleri deals with this love

in his novel “I Wish You Were the Only One with Blue Wings (*Mavi Kanatlı Bir Tek Sen Olsan*).” Osman Fahri’s love was much more dramatic, sad and ended with the suicide of Osman Fahri at the age of 29, who did not find a response to his love. Sukufe was very upset about this situation, she could not forget throughout her life, and her loneliness increased day by day and she described her feelings in the poetry books “Morning Birds and From Earth to Heaven (*Sabah Kuşları ve Yerden Göğe*)” (Çetindaş, 2010; 157-159).

Drawing attention to the fact that women cannot show their strength on the threshold of the newly differentiated world, she expects the intellectual, patriotic woman to awaken the nation that had fallen into a terrible sleep and put an end to the misery. Noting that small steps will grow over time, the author claimed that having a shining hope will open the door to enlightenment and argued that crying and mourning is no longer the way out (Akagündüz; 2016;113). After the divorce in the late 1950s, Şükûfe Nihal’s years passed in pain. The indifference, accident and disability of his son Necdet (Sander) and the death of her daughter while giving birth have left her alone. She died in a nursing home on September 24, 1973 (Argunşah 2011: 97; Argunşah, 2018; Akagündüz, 2016:113).

2.6. *Emine Hanım (1846-1934)*

Emine Hanım’s father is Hafız Mehmed Efendi and her grandfather is Şem’î. She was born in 1846 in Konya. She started playing the saz and singing poetry at the age of twelve and sang her poems mostly in syllabic meter. It is known that Emine Hanım had children named Ahmet, Cevdet and İsmail and that she mourned her grief after Ahmet’s death at an early age. She passed away in 1934 (Işık 2009: 279; Nazlı, A.yesevi.edu.tr/materyal-detay/haci-Emine-seminin-gulu-seminin,2022).

2.7. *Hasibe Ramazanoğlu (1860-1849)*

Hasibe Ramazanoğlu, from Ramazanoğlu principality, was born in Adana in 1860 and married Hazım Efendi at the age of 13. They had seven children named Müzeyyen, Pakize, Kadriye, Ekrem, Mürşide, Hakkı and Sıdıka. Her daughter died in the hospital and she is very sad and laments about her loss (Çınar; 2008:30):

“Did my rosebud wither before it opened?
Did God’s order find its place immediately?
My angel who longs for his mother

Are empty graves filled with you?”
 (Gonca gülüm açılmadan soldu mu
 Hakk’ın emri heman yerin buldu mu
 Annesine hasret giden meleşim
 Senin ile boş mezarlar doldu mu.)”

It has been seen that Hasibe Ramazanoğlu has the ability to improvise and recite poetry within the scope of folk literature. Hasibe Ramazanoğlu passed away in 1949 (Sümbül, 2012).

2.8. *Cevheriye Bânu Hanım (1862-1914)*

She was born in Atkaracalar village of Çankırı Çerkeş district. Her family was from the wealthy and respected families of the village, and she had never been married. When she took over the management of the house after the death of her father at the age of twenty-one, she turned the guest room in their house into a place like a science and literature club and recited poems with her guests. She listened to the minstrels who came to her house and chatted with them. Bânu Hanım, who had a simple style and used language very well, burned her poems in 1912, two years before her death, for an unknown reason. Therefore, most of her poems have not survived (Onay 1930: 115-116; Sevengil 1967: 59; Atlı, <http://teis.yesevi.edu.tr/material-detay/banu-cevriye-banu>).

2.9. *Ayşe Berk (1874 – 1953)*

Ayşe Berk was born in Şarkışla, her father was Âşık Serdarî. She lived a very poor life, married Sheikh Ahmet at an early age, had five children and died of pneumonia (Çınar, 2008 p.32).

2.10. *Şerife Soykan (1879– 1944)*

Şerife Soykan, known as Şerife Hala, was born in 1879 in the Turan village of Kayseri. When her husband was martyred in the First World War, she raised her two sons, Rüştü and Necmettin, without a father. Şerife Hatun never married again and lived among her sons and grandchildren. Şerife Soykan has told many epics on religious and social issues (Önder 1945: 16).

2.11. *Hasibe Hatun (1885 (?) -1945)*

Kadirli Hasibe Hatun was born in 1885, in the Göğahmetli Village of Andırın. It is known that Hasibe Hanım died in 1945. (<https://sites.google.com/site/edeBlolum/turkiyede-kadin-asiklar/hasibe-hatun>. 2022). Hasibe Hanım married Mustafa Ağa at the age of 14. She lost her husband and children at a young age and was in mourning. Toros Turkmen women's view of life can be seen in her works. After losing her two daughters and her husband, she started minstrelsy. She could not play the instrument saz and had not grown up with a master-apprentice relationship (Arı, 2009: 545; Yalman, 1993: 398; Davutluoğlu, 1982: 27; Artun, Erman, p. 9; 2011). After the death of Hasibe Hanım's daughter, she also commemorated Hayriye, whom she sent off with laments while burning Hatice's Lament (Arslan, İsmail, 2022) :

“I wouldn't let them call my child an orphan

I'm going to dance a little

Do you know my Hayriye?

Face smiling lip cherry”

(Öksüz dedirmem yavruma

Halay çekeceğim biraz

Hayriye 'mi biliniz mi

Yüz gül gülü dudak kiraz)”

“By God, I'm not lying

I lost a girl first

Do you know my Hayriye?

Lip cherry teeth pearl”

(Vallahi yalan değilim

Bir kız yitirdim birinci

Hayriye 'mi biliniz mi

Dudak kiraz dişlerinci)”

“(Fading in the bundle

The one whose dowry was left in the chest

Someone come against me

Whose daughter died while engaged

(Bohçada solan

Cehizi sandıkta kalan

Kimise karşıma çıksın

Nişanlıyken kızı ölen)”

“Oh I'm cracked I'm cracked

I folded four bundles into one

My motherhood be damned

I locked the chest of dowry”

(Aman çatladım çatladım

Dört bohçayı bir katladım

Benim analığım batsın

Çehiz sandığı kitledim)”

“I won’t say anything to Abdullah
He’s also confused
When my daughter’s Tuesday comes
Your milkman’s overflowed
*(Abdullah’a bir şey demem
Onun da akılı şaştı
Kızımın Salı gelince
Sağmeninen doldu taşıtı)”*

“A horseman came from Andırın
Set up a wedding, ornament
Did I have a wedding?
The folks gather and watch
*(Andırın’dan atlı geldi
Düğün kurun edin ziynet
Amanın düğünmü kurdum
Top top olmuş bakar millet)”*

“Do not let those who are my friends
see
I’m tired of dark mourning
I gave it to Bekir
Black coat pink dress
*(Dostum olanlar görmesin
Ben usandım kara yastan
Bekir’in eline verdim
Kara manto pembe fistan)”*

“The world didn’t last
My heart didn’t take its woe
I called it Hatice
He didn’t give you your ship.
*(Sürmedi dünya demini
Almadı gönlüm gamını
Hatice diye çağırdım
Vermedi atın gemini.)”*

2.12. Dudu Karabıyık (1895-1989)

Dudu Karabıyık married the grandson of minstrel Seyrani. She wrote many poems after the death of his children. She wrote three laments about the death of her sons Abdullah and Mehmet (Gürlek 2009:129-131 Çatak 1992:76-77) ; Cross, Erhan 2019). The loss of her sons is reflected in her poems (www.ozanlarodasi.com , 2022):

“Our father Seyrani our generation is
great
He drank a lot from his master’s hands
He showed us the way of truth
We have a caravan walking on this
road

*(Babamız Seyrani neslimiz ulu
O içmiş pirinin elinden dolu
Bize o gösterdi hakikat yolu
Bu yolda yürüyen kervanımız var)”*

“Aşık Dudu says that I’m on fire
 A form that my Mevla gave to every
 one of his servants
 I sent the migration of three brave men
 to God
 We have a legacy from the world to
 the hereafter
 She lamented for her children:
 (*Aşık Dudu der ki yanıyor içim
 Mevla’m her kuluna vermiş bir biçim
 Üç yiğidin Hakk’a gönderdim göçü
 Dünyadan ahrete devranımız var*)”

For Sait

“They put me on the machine
 They landed in Develi
 In the name of the holidays with my
 son
 They tricked me”
 (*Makineye bindirdiler
 Develi’ye indirdiler
 Oğlun ile bayram diye
 Eller beni kandırdılar*)”

“The way of Develi is hill
 I got burned again
 What have I ever done to you my god
 Oh, favor me a little bit
 (*Develi’nin yolu bayır
 Yine yandım cayır cayır*)”

*Ne ettim Allah’ım sana
 Ha biraz da beni kayır*)”

“Is the hearthstone cracked?
 The head of my liver burned
 Did you meet I wonder
 My Sayid’s coy wife
 (*Çatıldımı ocak taşı
 Yandı ciğerimin başı
 Acep buluştun mu ola
 Sayid’imin nazlı eşi*)”

For Mehmet

“What happened to you
 what happened to me
 My roses have faded
 Does the daughter of a stranger hand
 mourn
 Your mother plucked out her own liver
 (*Sana n’oldu bana n’oldu
 Açılan güllerim soldu
 Elin kızı yas mı tutar
 Anan ciğerini yoldu*)”

“South face of Erciyes
 If the day touches, the ice will melt
 Come quickly, my Mehmet, come
 quickly
 Does not stop, goes, your uncle’s
 daughter

(*Erciyes'in güney yüzü*
Gün deęerse erir buzu
Tez gel aę Mehmed'im tez gel
Durmaz gider dayın kızı)"

"What happened to you what happened
to me

My roses have faded

Does the daughter of a stranger hand
mourn

Your mother plucked out her own
liver"

(*Sana n'oldu banan'oldu*

Açılan güllerim soldu

Elin kızı yasını tutar

Anan cięerini yoldu)"

"South face of Erciyes

If the day touches, the ice will melt

Come quickly, my Mehmet, come
quickly

Does not stop, goes, your uncle's
daughter"

(*Erciyes'in güney yüzü*

Gün deęerse erir buzu

Tez gel aę Mehmed'im tez gel

Durmaz gider dayın kızı)"

For Abdullah

"In the black coat nail

In his own officer example

Such a valiant act

In the association of İdirisi"

(*Kara palto tırnaęında*

Kendi zabit örneęinde

Böyle yięit töremedi

İdirisler derneęinde)"

2.13. Fatma Oflaz (1894–1980)

Fatma Oflaz was born in Kangal district of Sivas. Fatma Oflaz used the pen name "Sufferer (*Derdimend*)" in her poems. She was married twice and was blinded in one eye from crying when her first husband died. Only one of her ten children survived and did not receive any education (edeBIolum/turkiyede-women-asklar/fatma-oflaz, 2022).

2.14. Âşık Gülçınar(1960 - 2018)

Âşık Gülçınar was one of the most powerful women poets of our time. She was introduced to poetry by her father at a young age. Âşık Gülçınar composed, played and sang her poems with her instrument (Yaęmur, 2017).

Gülçınar describes her marriage as follows: “I was not married, I got married by force. When I was 13, they gave me to someone twenty-five years older than me for bride price. Later I had children and divorced (Yağmur, 2017) .She had two sons and a daughter. She lost her daughter when she was four years old. She is one of the women minstrels and worked in many jobs before the minstrel tradition. There is no profession she has not tried. In her own words: “I worked in every job except fraud and theft, I did housework, I also did marketing by selling laundry from door to door” (Yağmur, 2017). Gülçınar reproaches her husband in “Husband Like This” (Turan- Uysal IV 2010; Altun, 2017):

“May a stone come to your thirty-two teeth while ou eat rice
 May the ringworm get into your eyelashes and eyebrows
 May the sleep terror haunt your every evening thought
 (*Pilav yerken taş gelsin otuz iki dişine*
Şaç kıran derdi girsin kirpiğine kaşına
Karabasan otursun her gün akşam düşüne)”

Gülçınar, who also has many poetry books, was trying to continue the tradition of minstrelsy. Ayten Gülçınar, invited by UNESCO to represent Turkey, lost her life in an armed attack allegedly organized by her fiancé’s son (www. sabah.com.tr.2022).

2.15. *Fatma Behice Batur (1910-?)*

Fatma Behice Batur was born in Osmaniye Kadirli district, Bahadırılı Village. She married Süleyman Batur in 1937 and gave birth to eight children. She lost her mother when she was 5 years old. Her mother’s laments influenced her minstrelsy. Fatma Behice is shown among the Adana minstrels who grew up in the Karacaoğlan tradition (Aytun, Erman 1997:42).

2.16. *Şah Turna (1951-...)*

Known as the Mother of Folk Songs, Shah Turna describes her loss of sight at the age of three due to variola (smallpox) and her surrender to the instrument with these words: I didn’t want to see, I wanted a tool, and when my father took me to the doctor, I said to the doctor: Doctor, please let my father buy me a tool, I don’t want an eye. Understanding my love for the instrument and music, the

doctor encouraged my father to buy me an instrument (Turan, Saluk; 2015). Losing her sight at a very early age made her a minstrel (Kurt, 2019).

2.17. *Senem Akkaş (Âşık Şahsenem) (1945-2022)*

Senem Akkaş was born in Sarıkamış district Boyalı village. Şahsenem Bacı had three children from her marriage. Âşık Şahsenem's husband destroyed her saz. (Yılmaz, A., p.59; 2012; <https://www.salakfilozof.com/gecmisten-gunumuzekadin-sairlerin-konumuna-genel-bir-bakis-yrd-doc-dr-ayfer-yilmaz/,2022>). Their marriage lasted for eighteen years and she separated from her husband due to disagreements about the minstrel profession of Şahsenem (Altun, 2019). Şahsenem Bacı, who has approximately 1000 poems and 150 folk songs, participated in various minstrels' feasts. Hacı Bektaş in 1975 won first place at the 1976 Antalya Minstrels festivals. She prepared 5 albums and collected some of his poems in a book called Söz Nereye (1990). She passed away on June 14, 2022 in Istanbul at the age of 79 (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Şahsenem_Bacı,2022).

2.18. *Sürmelican Kaya (1958 – ...)*

Sürmelican had two children. Her childhood was spent in the village. The longing she felt for her mother and father, whom she did not see for 10 years after marriage, was a major factor in her falling in love and writing her works, and she reflected her longings in her poems (Çınar, Sevilay 2008). While Sürmelican Hanım was married for only fifteen days, her husband had another marriage. This sad state of affairs was the most difficult time of her life. In this period, her poems became her consolation (Çınar, Karahasanoğlu, Şenel: 2008).

2.19. *İlkin Manya (1948-...)*

The family of İlkin Manya, known as Sarıçakız, did not care about and did not support her closeness to folk songs. Despite this, İlkin Hanım won the first place in the Konya Minstrels' Festival and after that, she was recognized and began to find more place in the tradition of minstrelsy. Âşık Sarıçakız, who had three marriages, made her marriages with minstrels. She married Âşık Reyhanî, Âşık İhsanî and Âşık Emircan. She explained the main reason as: "getting to know the tradition of minstrelsy, being able to live in this tradition, playing and singing together, contributing to folk poetry as a woman" (Çınar, Karahasanoğlu,

Şenel ; 2008). Âşık Sarıcakız states that she is disappointed in their marriages (Çobanoğlu: 2006; 55; Altun, 2017):

“You turned Sarıca into a sheep
 Did you pull many games
 You weren’t worth
 No submission
 (*Sarıca’yı ettin koyun*
Yapmadın mı türlü oyun
El içinde böyle boyun
Eğmelere değmezmişsin)”

2.19. *Yeter Ana (Yeter Yıldırım) (d. 1922 / ö.?)*

Yeter Ana got married at the age of 14 and gave birth to nine children. Since her husband Yüzbaşıoğlu constantly left home to attend the Minstrel programs, the responsibility of all the children falls to Ana Yeter. She earned her living by doing vineyards, gardening and housework and raised her children. She sings about her problems with her husband in the song “Come, my love”, which is a Sivas local folk song (<https://www.bikuple.net/sivas-yoresi-turkuleri-gel-sevstagram-var-mola-sarki-sozu-168209,2022>; <https://www.turkuler.com/ozan/DKyeterana.asp,2022>):

“Come my love, let’s talk
 Do you even have the guts to look me in the face
 Who is blaming who, I don’t know who to ask
 Do you even have a person who thinks you’re right
 (*Gel sevdiğim, senle bir yol konuşsak*
Yüzüne bakacak halin var m’ola
Kim suçluyor, bilmem kime danışsak
Seni haklı gören kulun var m’ola)”

“They say men don’t sulk, but you do
 Whatever have I done to break you
 You beat me, exiled me, yet I made love to you anyway
 Do you even have someone who embraces you like I do
*(Erkek küsmez derler, ben sende gördüm
 Sana ne ettim ki, kalbini kırdım
 Dövdün, kovdun, yine koynuna girdim
 Cilve edip saran kolun var m’ola)”*

“Whatever is my fault, say it to my face
 If you’re at fault, come apologize
 You left your love lowly
 Do you even have a branch to hold onto without me
*(Günahım ne ise, yüzüme söyle
 Hata sende ise, gel özür eyle
 Boynu bükük koydun, yârini böyle
 Bensiz tutunacak dalın var m’ola)”*

“I wrapped your bland bread in sprouts
 I planted crops on the mountain, I plowed
 I scooped wood, carried them on my back
 Do you even have a planted tree
*(Yavan ekmeğini, azığa sardım
 Dağbaşında ekin ekdim, çift sürdüm
 Odun şelek ettim, sırtıma vurdum
 Dikili ağacın, çalın var m’ola)”*

“You went abroad, you had fun
 You sentenced me to the village, you tied me up
 I was a disaster, you branded my desire
 Do you even have a breeze for my burning heart

*(Sen gittin gurbete, gönül eğledin
Beni köye mahkûmettin, bağladın
Ben bir afetidim, arzum dağladın
Yanmış yüreğime yelin var m'ola)*"

"Yeter Ana says, I loved so I married
You were penniless, I gave you a home
I birthed precious children
Do you even have something nice to say
*(Yeter Ana derki, sevdim de vardım
Baldırı çıplaktın, yuvanı kurdum
Birbirinden güzel yavrular verdim
Doğru söze, tatlı dilin var m'ola)*"

2.20. *Âşık Fatma (Fatma Üzüm) (d.? / ö.?)*

Fatma Üzüm was born in Amasya. Love, separation, the difficulties of life, longing, the difficult struggle of human beings, the transience of the world and death were the main themes of her poems (Aslan 2010: 141; Turan, 2019).

Âşık Fatma's husband strongly opposes that Âşık Fatma sings poetry and plays the saz. In her poems, Âşık Fatma, who provides for her children and is both mother and father, talked about the support she did not receive from her husband in her poems (Turan- Uysal IV; 146), (Altun, 2017):

"You wouldn't talk big when you loved me
You watched as people bruised
While you lay on the bed
Didn't you ever think of me, my love
*(Mangalda kül bırakmazdın beni severken
Seyirci kaldın ya eller ezerken
Başını yastığa koyup yatarken
Hiç mi düşünmedin beni sevdiğim.)*"

2.21. *Vasfiye Hanım (VT) (1914? - (?))*

Vasfiye Hanım (VT) was born in the town of Şarkışla. Vasfiye Hanım's mother was a minstrel as well (Günbulut, 1984;17). She had an arranged marriage and lived with her six children and her mother-in-law. Vasfiye Hanım (VT)'s marriage is not going well and she complains about this situation in her poems (Günbulut 1984 ;23, 25; Altun, 2017):

“Obtuse man, you destroyed me
 I stole it hard and rotted it quickly
 My strength was enough or not, I ran to every job
 Recently, I forgot how to walk
 (*Kele herif yaktın beni kül ettin*
Azıya çaldım da çabuk çürüttüm
Gücüm yeter yetmez her işe koştum
Son zamanlarda yürümeyi unuttum.)”

3. Conclusion

It was difficult for women minstrels to exist in male-dominated environments such as coffee houses when social media and internet networks were not as accessible as they are today. In the course of time, they were able to reach large masses with the help of cassette tapes and today, social media and the internet, and their works were read by well-known folk artists. The problems experienced by women minstrels within the tradition have been a factor in their initiation into minstrelsy. The sad life of our women minstrels in the last century has had great effects on the beginning and continuation of the minstrelsy. Fatma Makbule spent most of her short life as a patient. Yaşar Nezihe Bükülmez's mother had passed away when she was only six, and she grew up as a neglected child in her aunt's household. She was forced into marriage by her father, and had to marry a man twenty-seven years older than her, who then would blame and divorce Bükülmez for his not being able to bear a child even though he had not had any success in having a child with his previous three wives. She had three children from her second marriage, but her husband left them, resulting in Sedat and Suat to die of starvation. Nigâr Hanım had three sons from the unhappy marriage she had had when she was 14, but was divorced soon enough. İhsan Raif Hanım

had three children from the marriage into which she had been forced by her father and that lasted 15 years. She could not talk to anyone about her troubles. Her next marriage, which was a happy one, would last a short amount of time. Şukufe Nihal committed suicide for the sake of her first love Osman Fahri, and died at the age of 29. After her divorce in the late 1950s, Şukufe Nihal's life is filled with struggles. Emine Hanım lost her son Ahmet at an early age and mourned after his death. Hasibe Ramazanoğlu married Hazım Efendi at the age of 13, and they had seven children, Müzeyyen, Pakize, Kadriye, Ekrem, Mürşide, Hakkı and Sıdika. She was very sad and lamented for her daughter who died in the hospital. Cevheriye Bânu Hanım was never married. She burned her poems two years before her death. Ayşe Berk married Sheikh Ahmet before she ever had the chance to experience her youth, had five children and died of pneumonia. When her husband was martyred, Şerife Soykan raised her two sons, Rüştü and Necmettin, without a father. Hasibe Hanım got married at the age of 14 and experienced the pain of losing her husband and two daughters at a young age. Dudu Karabıyık has many poems and laments after the death of her two sons. After the death of Fatma Oflaz's husband, whom she married twice and had ten children together, Fatma Oflaz was blinded in one eye from crying, and only one of the ten children they had had together survived. Âşık Gülçınar was forced into marriage at the age of 13 and lost her daughter when she was 4 years old. Ayten Gülçınar, invited by UNESCO to represent Turkey, lost her life in an armed attack. Fatma Behice Batur lost her mother when she was 5 years old. The laments of her mother influenced her starting minstrelsy. Shah Turna's loss of sight at a very early age made her turn to minstrelsy. Minstrel Şahsenem's wife broke her saz and divorced her husband. While Sürmelican Kaya was married, her husband had one more marriage and she did not see her parents for 10 years after marriage. İlkin Manya's family did not care about and did not support her closeness to folk songs. She had 3 marriages. Yeter Ana got married at the age of 14 and gave birth to nine children. Aşık Fatma's husband opposed to and did not support hers singing poetry and playing the saz. Vasfiye Hanım (VT) had six children and her marriage did not go well.

Our women minstrels started the art of minstrelsy under very difficult conditions compared to today and tried to make the voice of the society heard. Sadness, grief and unhappy marriages in our women minstrels have been important factors in their initiation and continuation of minstrelsy.

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CHAPTER XIII

ORNAMENTATION ON TRADITIONAL WOMEN'S HEADDRESSES: EXAMPLE OF GAZIANTEP BARAK TURKMENS*

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1. Introduction

Turkmen groups, also known as Barak, are considered as belonging to the Beydili clan of the Oghuz tribe in some sources depending on the settlement policy of the Ottoman Empire, while in some sources they are shown on Cerit, one of the tribes affiliated to the principality of Dulkadir. Located in the Khorasan region in the southeast of the Caspian Sea, Barak Turkmens migrated to Iran and Anatolia after the Akkoyunlu State was defeated by the Ottoman State. The Turkmen tribes, including the Barak Turkmen, elected Feriz Bey as their chief. Feriz Bey gained a legendary aspect to himself among the Barak Turkmen over time and formed the basis of Barak migration and folk songs that tell the story of settlement and migration (Sümer, 1980; Refik, 1983; Gaziantep Governorship, 2002). Thus, according to the stories that have been told, a great migration began with 84 thousand tents. As a result of the migration, some Barak Turkmen people came to the Barak Plain, which is

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still known by the same name today. This region covers a very large area starting from the southeast of Kilis, Nizip, Oğuzeli and Karkamış districts of Gaziantep, to the banks of the Euphrates River in the east and the Syrian border in the south. Ali Rıza Yalman stated in his work “Turkmen Clans in South” that the Barak Turkmens consisted of 12 tribes. These were Torunlu, Kürdülü, Eseli, Tiryakili, Göğebakan, Ali İdrisli, Hacıkasımlı, Mercanlı, Çokşuruklu, Marzıbalı, Çayrazlı, Karakozaklı tribes (Yalman, 1993: 67).

Having emerged as the natural way of life of traditional Turkish culture in the historical process, “Nomadism” still maintains its influence, its consequences, or traces today.” (Ersoy, 2009: 50). The migration and settlement processes of the Barak Turkmen also served to form a great cultural memory. Contrary to settled culture structures, nomadic culture structure is healthy and sustainable in keeping itself and its memory safe. Along with their nomadic lifestyle, Barak Turkmens have managed to preserve their cultural memories and traditions with the help of their being a closed society. One of the traditions that continue to exist is the traditional “headdresses (*başlık*)”, which are seen as complementary to the clothing tradition. It reflects the beliefs, traditions, customs, economic structures, aesthetic features, etc. of the society in which it lives. Traditional headdresses have reflected these functions with the ornamentation that is performed on them. This research focuses on the ornamentations on women’s headdresses, while also examining the historical and mythological origins of these ornaments through interviews with the Barak Turkmen living in the Oğuzeli district of Gaziantep.

2. Ornaments on Headdresses Used by Turks in the Historical Process

Considered a part of a society’s clothing culture, women’s traditional headdresses, constitute a great richness in the historical process of Turkish culture. As well as having a great significance in the historical process, traditional headdresses are seen as complementary pieces of women’s clothing that help explain and interpret many cultural elements today. The ornamentation of the aforementioned headdresses is not the same for every person. In other words, the ornamentation differs in terms of reflecting the social and economic status of the woman. In addition to the meanings they might imply, the materials used in the ornamentation are also important. Having arrived in Anatolia from Central Asia while diversifying along the way, the traditional headdresses vary from region to region. However, what can also be observed is that there stands a unity within the aforementioned headdresses. Despite the changing religions

and homelands of the Turks, it is known that headdresses and ornaments have always been a parts of their lives.

Shaman belief has played an important role in ensuring and preserving cultural unity among Turkish peoples in the historical process. In practices related to shamanism, the tools, clothing and headdresses used by the shamans are seen as tools that allow them to cross the boundaries of space. According to Eliade, the shaman costume and the symbols on it are also essential in the expression of holiness. In a way, Shamanism is symbolically objectified with its costume (Güner and Oyman, 2017: 365). Drum, mallet, dress, mask and headdress come to the fore in shamans' separation from their own identities and assuming a new and different identity. According to the Shaman belief, the universe was designed as two parts as the sky and the earth, or in another Shaman belief it was designed as three parts as the sky, the earth and the underground. Each layer has been represented by animal shapes. Sometimes the sky animal, bird, and sometimes the earth animal, the deer and the bear have dominated the design of the clothes (Kılıç, 2010: 319).

Headdresses (*Başlıklar*) have been considered among the clothes of shamans, and as well as the other clothing peaces, they possess rich symbolic features. Anohin in his work "Materials Belonging to Altai Shamanism", mentions that Kobdin shamans use the name "Abdulga"; Halhal shamans use the name "Orgobçi"; Tuvan shamans use the name "Hamnar bört"; and the Altay shamans use the name "Pörük" for shaman headdresses (Anohin, 2006: 54). There exists a direct connection between the shaman and the spirit ancestor in the bird symbolism that dominates the headdresses. When examined carefully, it can be understood that the clothes and headdresses are not formed in accordance with the shaman's own taste or personal accidental preferences, but rather in line with the common values of a certain community (Harva, 2015: 403). According to Anohin, during the first year, the shaman conducts their rituals without the traditional clothing. Then, clothes and headdresses are created according to the request of the helping spirit (Anohin, 2006: 41-42). In light of this, it is understood that some features of the spirit ancestor direct the design and ornamentation of the headdresses and clothes. This symbolism which has a close connection to the spirit ancestor, takes place more as a headdresses on the rock paintings. These human figures, seen as masked or horned, distinguish the Shaman from ordinary people (Gürcan, 2018: 84)

Altai Shaman headdresses are known as "bird-wig/bird-hat". The square headdress is decorated with seashells and many bird feathers.



(Photo 1.)

Darhat Shaman headdresses are made of brown, green, or blue fabric and are sewn in the form of bands. The feathers of birds such as eagles are embroidered on top, while the lower part of these headdresses hosts fabric strips hanging down.

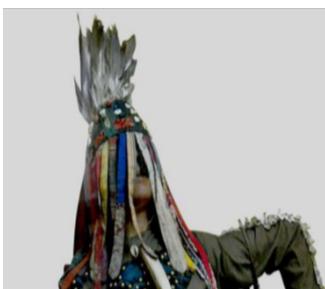


Photo 2.

“Khakas (*Hakas*)” Shaman headdresses are pointed upwards. The lower part is surrounded by a black stripe. Bird feathers are attached to the upper part of the head. Long fringes are sewn to the lower edge of the cap, starting from the ear level to the back.



Photo 3.

The Tofa Shaman's headdress is in the form of a wide ribbon band. On the upper part, lynx skin is sewn, and eagle feathers are attached to the fabric. The ornamentation on the headdress is carried out by processing the under-neck hair of the yellow reindeer. On the sides, there are fringes made of twine with tassels at the ends. Again, on one of the headdresses used by Tofa Shamans, eagle feathers and suede tassels hang down from the lower edges.



Photo 4.

Tuva Shaman headdresses are in the form of bands made of fabric. They are usually decorated with seashells and bird feathers. These birds might be eagles, owls or, heath birds. Tuva Shaman headdresses are also braided with fringes are attached.



Photo 5.

Yakut Shaman headdresses are decorated with horse mane feathers. Experienced shamans seem to have more hair on their headdresses than novice shamans (Gürcan, 2018: 98-189).

The Turkish Shaman headdresses seen around Asia and Siberia are considered, it can be said that almost all of them have bird symbolism embroidered on them. According to Bahaeddin Ögel, shaman clothing in Central Asia and Siberia is designed in accordance with the "animal ancestor" (Ögel, 1998: 37). The main element in the ornamentation of the headdresses, the feathers illustrate that the mythological aspect of the bird, especially the eagle, is significant

for the Turks and that it is an essential part of their lives. Additionally, iron inserts on the headdresses are among the frequently encountered ornaments. “The blacksmith and the shaman are from the same nest.” In light of this Yakut proverb, it can be interpreted that the iron jewelry on the headdresses is a tool to frighten evil spirits. By looking at the shaman headdresses and ornaments, it can be stated that shaman’s spirit ancestor, whether or not they are white/black shaman, whether or not they are an experienced/ novice shaman, and also whether or not they are a woman or a man.

As far as the historical periods of Turkish culture are concerned, the headdresses and ornaments are encountered in each and every one of them. We see many examples of ruler crowns belonging to the Gokturks in sarcophagi. On the head of the sarcophagus that is assumed to belong to Kul Tigin, which was found around the Orkhon inscriptions in 1958, there is a crown on the forehead with an eagle that spread its wings to both sides. Starting to be seen from the Pazirik kurgans until the Seljuk period, there crowns were named as “Taj-ı Börki”, these crowns were a type of crown that emerged from the combination of the Turkish crown and the Iranian crown concept (İndirkaş, 2002: 259). The bird motif on the crown is similar to the headdresses used by shamans.



Photo 6.

In the frescoes of the cave temples of Bezeklik in East Turkestan, which host the most prominent examples of the Uyghur classical painting style, there were “hotoz headdresses” that bear the traces of the old Turkish traditions depicted. It is seen that the clergy, who served the Mani religion and Uyghur nobles in the quest of spreading the Manichaeism, depicted on the walls of the said temples placed the hotoz, one of the headdresses of the period on their high

knobs (Çoruhlu, 1998: 108-111). Famous for their sable fur, white felt and floral fabrics, the Uyghurs named the hotoz as “boğtak”. The origin of the word hotoz in Anatolia is found as “kotaz/kaytaz” in the dialect of Ottoman, which is the name of a long-haired ox variety found in the Tatarstan region. It is also stated that the tail is made of a brick, a neck ornament for a horse and even a head resembling actual hair. It is assumed that the word hotoz was derived from the aforementioned reference. (Kurtuluş, 2017: 458).

As far as the headdresses of the Seljuk period are concerned, it can be observed that a special importance was given to the women's headdresses. The said headdresses, worn by the women of the Seljuk period, are called “bagaltak” or “uskuf (*üsküf*)”. On the pediments of the bracts of the women of the palace, there is seen a tuft-like crest, mostly made of peacock feathers. In his work “Seyahatname”, Ibn-i Batuta mentions the Uzbek wife of the Crimean Khan, he depicts a crown she wore on her head as “wearing a small crown by the name of bagaltak, covered with jewelry, a peacock on top of the said crown, and a silk fabric decorated with jewelry in the back as well” (Balta, 2014: 171).

Based on the Dede Korkut Stories, we understand that the headdresses and ornaments have a crucial part in Oghuz clothing. Attached to the head and face, “Yashmak”, “veil” and “scarf” indicate the place and status of women in the Oghuz society. The aforementioned elements are mentioned in “The Son of Kam Pure, Bamsi Beyrek as ‘Banı Çiçek has been veiled, asking for a news’ (Ergin, 2014: 122); and also as ‘Bearer of my veil’ (Ergin, 2014: 122)”; in “The son of Kazan Big, Uruz is captive as ‘Shall I stain my veil with your blood?’ (Ergin, 2014: 165)”.¹

We infer from the sources that the Ottoman Empire also used bird feathers to ornamentate their headdresses from the early days to its very last days. These feathers are often called “crest (*sorguç*)”. The appearance of the crests in the war and ceremonial costumes of the Ottoman sultans is seen in the historical records and miniatures of the period, starting from Suleiman the Magnificent. It is stated by İbrahim Peçevi that Suleiman the Magnificent stood under the flags of the sultanate with his three-crested “headgear (*sorguçlu serpuş*)” and fur-covered armor at the beginning of the Battle of Mohac. What is more, according to the same source, it is stated that the Ottoman sultans sometimes wore double

1 “Kam Pürenin Oğlu Bamsı Beyrek Boy’unda, ‘Banı Çiçek yaşmaklandı, haber sorıldı.’ (Ergin, 2014, s. 122); ‘Vay al duvağum iyesi.’ (Ergin, 2014: 131); Kazan Big Oğlu Uruz Bigün Tutsak Olduğu Boy’da ‘Çenberüme alça kanum dökeyin mi?’ (Ergin, 2014: 165)”.

and sometimes triple crests on their heads during ceremonies, receptions and ascension to the throne (Tapan, 1977: 101).



Photo 7

As can be concluded from the given instances, from Central Asia to the last days of Ottoman Empire, the ornamentation of the headdresses had reflected the place and the time in which the instances were drawn, the traditional elements, and the mentality of the period. It is seen that there are mostly animal hairs in the ornaments used as code transmitters. It is known that animals, whose influence we have always seen in Turkish cultural life, are called “töz” or “ongon”. To explain, the word “Ongon” is a Mongolian one, and its Turkish substitute is “töz” which can be translated as “essence”. Töz means root, origin, and essence in Turkish. With this word, Turks aimed to express which animal or bird from which they had descended (Ögel, 2014: 37). Essentially, essences have proven to be related to animism and fetishism, and the cult of ancestors has had an effect on the emergence of these essences. Furthermore, essences refer to the cults of animal-ancestor or animal-mother, which were prevalently believed in ancient times in relation to the cult of ancestors. The most well-known example related to the animal-ancestor/main theme concerns the Oghuz Turks. Bird symbols corresponding to an animal ancestor/mother concept belonging to each of the Oghuz tribes were also essences (Çoruhlu, 2011: 66).

The main ornamental material of the headdresses, feathers also constitute the main material on the phenomenon of flag in Turks. It is known that in the ancient times of Turks, bricks with animal hair were used as a symbol of kamlık, khanate, bodun and war, and fabric flags took a legal character long after that (Köprülü, 1944: 402). In the Turkish language and culture, the tug, which would later be used to mean sanjak “*sancak*”, was the name of the poles ornamented with feathers and colored stripes, or with shields or axes in the hands of the

actors who performed epic dance performances to entertain the gods in the “Chularun (*Çularun*)” rites, which was accepted from the Proto-Turkic tribes (Şirin, 2007: 844). From the word feather, which is the core meaning of the word tug, it can be inferred that before the flags made of cloth, the feathers of animals that were accepted as essences by the Turks constituted the main material of the flag. These objects were later regarded as the heroic documents of the Alp and Bahadır Khans and as the phenomenon and concept of the state became prominent, the personal documents of the khan became the symbol of the high domination covering the state (Şirin, 2007: 851).

3. Ornamentation of the Women's Headdresses of the Gaziantep Turkmen Women

In the Barak Turkmen women's headdresses, what can be observed is that not all headdresses have the same meaning nor characteristics, but they vary according to the age, social and economic status of the wearer. Barak Turkmen women's headdresses are seen to have been made of generally the same kind of materials. The differences that lead to the diversity of meanings are related to the color of the materials used, and whether they are more or less. The main materials used in this sense are ahmediye, fez, and kufiya. The ones that are used to ornament the main materials are “shekke, tozak, kaytan (*şekke*², *tozak*³, *kaytan*⁴)”, flowers, colorful fabrics, mirrors, çalma and crests (*ayna*, *çalma*⁵, *tepeliktir*⁶)

“The idioms (*baş bağlamak*)”, “*başını bağlamak*” which effectively mean “to get married” in Turkish culture and language may be related to a single girl's veiling her head and face when she becomes a bride, indicating that she has crossed a new threshold with the headdress worn on her head. The same situation is also observed in Barak Turkmens and it is known that girls who have not reached the age of marriage do not wear any headdresses on their heads, but when they get married wear one of the headdresses that typically only brides wear. Moreover, there are also headdresses worn by girls who are at the age of marriage but are unmarried. “The runaround scarf (*dolama baş*)”, which is one of the styles of women's headwear who are of the age to marry or older, is created as follows: The orange cloth called “Ahmediye” is brought into a

2 Ornament made of silver and covering the ear

3 ornament formed by coloring chicken, rooster, goose feathers in colors

4 black braided hair

5 Head ornament with silver attached to it and joined to the crown

6 Circular jewelry type placed on the hair

triangle shape. It is attached to the head like a scarf. After the right and left ends are equalized, one end is taken towards under the chin, and it is gathered to the right or left side. It is then brought to the top of the head. The remaining long part is wrapped around the head for two turns, and then, it is combined with the other part to be knotted. According to the oral sources, young and single girls tie the knot on the left hand, while married and older women tie the knot on the right.



Photo 8.



Photo 9.

However, if the woman is a widow, a black pouch is tied on the knot in a way that wraps around the head (SP1). On the other hand, women who are in a good financial condition tie a type of kufiya, which is close to a golden yellow color, called “golden kufiya (*altuniye poşu*)” on the ahmediye. In this sense, young girls are expected to wear ahmediye kufiya “*ahmediye poşu*”, whereas the middle-aged women are expected to wear dirhamiye kufiya “*dirhamiye poşu*”, and the women with high incomes are and those with high incomes are expected to wear golden kufiya “*altuniye poşu*”.



Photo 10.

Middle-aged women traditionally tie a type of a large “handkerchief (*yağlık*)” on their foreheads after tying the *kufiya*. It's called “*baş yağlığı*”. In Barak Turkmen, it is traditionally considered a shame for old women to have their foreheads uncovered.



Photo 11.

In the ornamentation of the runaround scarf, it is observed that the young and unmarried girls tie the seasonal flowers into the knot on the right side. These flowers are mostly mother-of-pearl, carnation and rose, but an olive branch can also be attached to the flower. (SP1, SP2, SP3). The direction in which the ornaments are attached on the headdress called “runaround scarf (*dolama*)” are attached in a way that can provide information about whether the wearer is married, single or younger or older. The color of the *kufiya* indicates that the woman has separated from her husband or that her husband has passed away, and that her economic situation is good. In light of this statement, ornaments become concrete indicators beyond looking beautiful. As a result, communication is established with the appearance before verbal communication, with the help of headdresses and ornamentation's translating into words in memory.

Another method of veiling their heads for the Barak Turkmen women is called “straight Barak scarf with fez (*fesli düz Barak başı*)”. It is created by sewing the one of the main materials of Barak Turkmen headdresses onto the fez, which is the *ahmediye*, with a needle and thread. There are silver embroidered ornaments called “*shekke*” on the right and left of the fez. On the top of the fez, finely embroidered jewelry called “*çalma*”, which is also preferred to be made of silver, is sewn. Then the black *kufiya* is wrapped around the fez and tied tightly to hold the *ahmediye* and “*shekke* (*şekke*)”. After the main part of the headdress is formed in the previously described way, the ornaments formed by dyeing the feathers of birds such as chicken, rooster, goose and crane, which

are called “tozak” in the region, are attached to the left side of the head. Then, seasonal flowers such as roses and mother-of-pearl are attached to the right side. In addition, black knitted threads called “cord (*kaytan*)” are used instead of false hair by putting on the head with an elastic and hanging down in the back.



Photo 12.

The decorations used in the “straight Barak scarf” share many common elements with the shaman headdresses that have been presented in the historical process at the beginning of the study. The shekke that can also be seen in this type of headdresses, which are mostly done at weddings, is similar to the irons on the headdresses of shamans, and the irons are used for the noise they make to frighten evil spirits and scare them away. Both headdresses, shekkees seem to cover the ears. In the same way, the ornament called “çalma” on the top of the fez is similar to the crest “*hotoz*” found in many headdresses that have been presented in historical Turkish periods. Bird feathers called “tozak” attached to the top of the headdress have the same characteristics as the “crests (*sorguçlarda*)” that are seen on the headdresses in every period of Turkish history. The visually similar words “töz” and “tozak” which mean the “essence” and the “bird feathers used on the headdresses” consecutively, also settle a striking element. According to the oral sources, one of the reasons why the girls in the region wear “tozak” on their headdresses is due to the fact that Feriz Bey, who loved to hunt cranes, plucked a feather from each of the cranes he hunted and gave it to the girls as it has been narrated in the beliefs. It was believed that as a result of the girls wearing these feathers, their fortunes would be most happy and they would bring good luck in this sense. One of the tools and equipment used by the shaman to take on a new and different meaning outside of themselves as a symbol is the knitted hair, which they hang behind their headgears. As well as helping the

shaman in establishing the new identity, braided hair adorns the headdresses as “kaytan” on the head of Barak. Apart from their usage within the daily life, cord were usually worn at weddings and were among the accessories that help women get out of their daily identity.



Photo 13.

A high platform is placed on a fez while the bride's headdress is being prepared. This platform is known locally as the “Kürep başı”. On this platform, like the colors of the rainbow, seven colors of chiffon cover are shaped by arranging them side by side. Additionally, colorful flowers and bird feathers are placed on the top. A mirror and a silver ornament called “çalma” are placed in the middle of this headdress. Gold or silver coins are placed on the headdress' parts that touch the forehead.

The name “Kürepbaşı”, which is quite high, takes its name from the village of Kürep , which is a village located in the Oğuzeli district in Gaziantep province. The local name of the title, which is incorrectly stated as “shovel head” due to the visual similarity of the words (kürek means shovel whereas the correct word is “kürep”) in many sources, is “Kürep Başı”. Alongside being a headdress worn only by brides, it can take more than a day to prepare this headdress. The women who specifically prepare this headdress, Kürep Başı, arrive at the bride-to-be's house in the early hours of the wedding day and start working on the headdress. Since the preparation of the bride is an important task in Turkish culture, those involved in this preparation are not randomly selected. In other

words, the people who are to prepare the bride for the wedding day need to do their job well and have certain characteristics. Being monogamous is the most basic feature sought in the person who prepares the bride. Moreover, it has to be a woman who had been married before or a woman who is happily married that prepares the Kürep Başşı (SP1, SP2). Therefore, by setting these conditions on the person who is to prepare the headdress, it is desired that these characteristics of the woman be transferred to the new bride.



The seven-color chiffon cover used at the head of the cup is created with rainbow colors. It is noteworthy that the rainbow as a cultural metaphor is emphasized by the power and omnipotence of God in all circumstances. The metaphor, which is mostly built on the female figure (Fatma Kadın belt, havana, Umay Ana), has been able to establish the male analogy in the names of sage's trail and prophet's trail, in time, perhaps with the influence of Islamic belief. Metaphors such as abundance, world, man, destiny, power, animal, woman, value, color determine the direction of cognitive disposition in Turkish culture. The dream of one's wish coming true and the concept of hoping show a continuity with these names. "The rainbow (*ebemkuşağı*)", which is thought to be the straight path, that is, the way to heaven, is the road that connects this world and the next world. There are colors (black and white forelocks) believed to guide the shaman in the ascension ceremonies. In some ceremonies, blue, white, red, and yellow cloths hung on a rope show the shaman the skyway. Some researchers state that these colored cloths that are stretched on a rope express the hibiscus. Shamans believe that they will walk into the sky with this rainbow symbol hung on a rope (Ögel, 1995: 227-228-229). In this context, when the formation of the "Kürep başı" is

examined, it is seen that it is in the form of an extension towards the sky. This image of the aforementioned headdress, which resembles a “rainbow” with its colorful cloths, can be interpreted as a connection to the celestial sanctity in shamanic belief.



The mirror on the top of the globe's head has a wide range of uses and meanings in the Turkish culture and belief system. Most of the information about the mirror in the old Turks is drawn from the shaman traditions. The mirror is usually attached to the shaman's drum. While the drum brings the shaman into ecstasy, the mirror collects evil spirits on it. Finally, the mirror eliminates the evil by expelling the souls that settle on it. Based on the same idea, it is used to protect the bride from the evil eye due to the reflective feature of the mirror. In the event that the person with the evil eye looks at the mirror before they look at the bride, it is the belief that the evil eye is returned to the owner of the evil eye.

4. Conclusion

As a result of the field research conducted in the Oğuzeli district, where Gaziantep Barak Turkmen live, 3 different headdresses used by women were defined. There are plenty of ornamental elements in these headdresses, which are called “runaround scarf”, “straight Barak scarf”, and “Kürepaşı”. It is seen that the ornamentation is mostly done with feathers called “tozak”, flowers, shekke cords (knitted hair), colored fabrics, mirrors, çalma and crests. Kufiyas, which settle the ground for ornamentation, also form a visual communication through the meanings they embody. It is possible to understand the marital status of the woman from the way she wears the flower and the color of the kufiya she

wears, and her economic status from the color of her kufiya. It can be inferred that ornamentation does not exist only out of beauty and aesthetic concerns, some ornaments and adornment elements have a semiotic meaning at the point of conveying a message.

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Source People

SP1: Emine Karakurt /Oğuzeli /Dokuzyol Köyü

SP2: Pınar Uğur, Oğuzeli/Asmacık Köyü

SP3: Ümmühan Köse/ Oğuzeli/Doğanpınar Köyü

CHAPTER XIV

THE WOMAN IN BUKET UZUNER'S TRILOGY OF THE ADVENTURES OF MISFIT DEFNE KAMAN

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1. Introduction

One of the remarkable writers of today's world, Buket Uzuner was born in 1959. After completing her primary and secondary education in Ankara, where she lived with her family, Uzuner graduated from the Biology Department of Hacettepe University. Completing her postgraduate degree in the field of ecology in Bergen University in Norway, Uzuner worked as an ecologist in the Tampere Technical University for a period of time. Having worked as an academician, ad and film writer, editor, and also in tourism industry in Turkey, Uzuner continued her career as a writer. It can be observed that as well as her university education, and a successful woman in different positions in Turkey, Uzuner's writing is also effective. The writer has a total of 26 works, consisting of stories, novels, and travel writing, and 8 of these works are novels. Some of these works have been translated into multiple languages as well. ¹

This study focuses on Buket Uzuner's trilogy of the Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman, which has attracted many reasons. The trilogy consists of 3 books by the name of Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman Water, Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman Earth, and Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman Air. The prominent feature of the trilogy is environment and kamanism in the context of women.

¹ See Uzuner:2012; Uzuner:2015; Uzuner:2018, daha detaylı bilgi için Toptaş:2008; Uzuner:2002; Uzuner:2022 in references if you want to obtain more information on Buket Uzuner's life and work.

The subjects environment and woman are parallel to Uzuner's education and her work she has done throughout her career. In her speech she made in 2013 at Hacettepe University, Uzuner mentioned that her starting to write the first book of the trilogy was influenced by her coming across Kutadgu Bilig in bibliopole, which she also mentions in the book. Uzuner talks about how the book emerged within careful readings of Turkish national roots after coming across Kutadgu Bilig. When the books are analyzed, there are references as to which sources have been consulted within the text, and there is a references section at the end of the book just as it is done in an academic work. This also highlights that literary work does not only serve the function of entertaining the reader, but also serves the function of informing the reader. It is essential that the reader is informed on their culture and past in an entertaining way rather than an encyclopaedic way. The curiosity brings about the situation of reader being encouraged to look for scientific sources as well, which would result in more detailed information in a given subject. Rather than using the long names of the books which include "Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman", the three books will be shortly referred to as Water, Earth, and Air. Other important features of the books are the fact that the books are in chronological order, and that the timeline reflects the timeline in which we live.

2. Case Presentations

2.1. *The Book Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman Water*

The book that has been analyzed is the first edition which was published in 2012, and the brief history of events are as follows: In the first book of the trilogy, WATER, the character Defne Kapan is a reporter, and she receives threats while working on femicide. One evening, she takes the ferry, named Barış Manço, from İstanbul Kadıköy, and she suddenly disappears. It is found that she never left the ferry, but she also cannot be found on the ferry either, as though she suddenly vanished. Around the same time Defne disappears, there emerges a dolphin on the ferry bridge. Even though it is not clear why, the dolphin is clearly struggling. The only expert on dolphins needs to come and treat the dolphin. Defne's grandmother Umay Bayülgen reports Defne's disappearance to the police, and thus, the events start to become in the book. The police that investigates the case in the police station to which Umay goes is a inspector named Ümit Kaman. Ümit Kaman has a girlfriend named Tasvir, whom he cannot marry due to his being alevi and not accepted by Tasvir's family. They will reach their happy ending at the end of the book. Even though

a dead woman's body found in the sea during the search for Defne increases the tension as the plot unfolds, it is quickly established in the book that the body does not belong to Defne. Defne gives some numbers to Inspector Ümit Kaman through day dreams or regular dreams by appearing in them. Bibliopole owner Semahat, also a friend of Ümit Kaman, points out that the numbers refer to certain couplets in Kutadgu Bilig, which results in the deciphering of the codes. With the help Umay Bayülgen, the murderer is found. After the murderer is found, Defne Kaman reappears, which coincides with the time around which the dolphin leaves the ferry bridge.

2.2. *The Book Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman Earth*

The other work that has been analyzed is the third edition of the book, which was published in 2015, and the brief history of the events is as follows: Defne Kaman goes to Çorum to investigate smuggling claims. In Çorum, there is a huge museum, and a lot of historical artifact smuggling around the area. Defne's biggest source of knowledge and supporter in this journey is a young man by the name of Karaca Yörüklü, whom she met 10 years ago in İstanbul Kalamış. 10 years before, after Kemal Yörüklü, Karaca's father, loses his wife, meets Umay Bayülgen just as he was about to go into a very dark place. When he went to Umay's home, retired pharmacist and herbalist, Kemal receives some advises from Umay, and his son Karaca meets Umay's husband Korkut Bayülgen and their granddaughter Defne Kaman. With the monetary support that he receives from Korkut Bayülgen's inheritance, Karaca is able to get a good education for 10 years and become a computer expert. After Karaca obtains certain information with his experience of doing hacking and shares them with Defne, Defne suddenly disappears. Karaca will survive an attack wounded as he tries to find him, however he will disappear soon after. The numeric codes that Defne sends in this book are sent to a cell phone which Karaca forgot at the hospital before disappearing, and then, obtained by Umay Bayülgen and her team, and these messages are anonymous as well. In the Earth book, after Defne's disappearance the animal that emerges is deer. Differing from Water book, after the deer appears Umay Bayülgen never leaves its side, and helps the deciphering of the codes. During these events, Kemal Yörüklü is not able to get over his spouse's death, which leads Umay Bayülgen to advise him that he would be able to get through this with Erlik Han. Right after the dialogue, Kemal Yörüklü meets with Erlik Han in his dream. While Kemal Yörüklü gets better, the place where Defne Kaman has been kept is discovered. Just as it was in Water, after Defne is saved, the deer disappears.

2.3. *The Book Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman Air*

The last book that has been analyzed was published in 2018 and it's a first edition of the book, and the brief history of the events is as follows: In the book *Air*, the contexts in which the events transpire are the cities Kayseri and Nevşehir (Cappadocia). Defne has been sued for an essay she wrote about nuclear energy, and the trial is to be conducted in Kayseri. However, Defne disappears the morning of the trial. The trial is postponed to the judge on the case having suffered from an heart attack on the morning of the trial, however, not knowing the reason why Defne disappeared is the main element that causes tension throughout the book. Just before Defne disappears, the family of Sahaf Semahat greets Defne after finding out that she is in Kayseri. However, Semahat is affected adversely by this situation. This is due to the fact that Semahat got pregnant after her uncle raped her, and then she was disowned by her biological mother, resulting in her fleeing the city. While these events are explained, after Defne's disappearance, Umay Bayülgen comes to Kayseri. After the speculation that Defne went to Cappadocia to guide a Japanese tourist group emerges, they go to Cappadocia to look for Defne. It isn't seen that Defne got off the balloon on which went beforehand. Defne disappears again, and right at this point an eagle appears in the sky. The reader senses that Umay Bayülgen has gotten old, and that it is Defne's turn to sit on the chair of the Kam instead of Umay. Umay Bayülgen and Defne see the same dream. The dream includes an eagle and a kid, however while Umay sees the child as Defne, Defne sees her niece Aybike as the child. New kam Defne's niece Aybike is introduced to the reader. However, not all the events are concluded in the book as it was in the previous books. Sahaf Semahat is confronted with her past with the encouragement of Umay Bayülgen. As the events come to an end, Defne does not reappear as she did in the previous books. Umay Bayülgen says that Defne will not come back and returns to İstanbul.

3. **Women in the Framework of Society, Community and Nature**

Even though the main character is perceived as Defne Kaman as far as the names of the books are concerned, it is, in fact, Defne's grandmother Umay Bayülgen who stands out. The trilogy *Adventures of Misfit Defne Kaman* generally includes Defne Kaman's disappearance. Her grandmother interferes and helps find Defne. In this sense, the books can be considered as simple detective novels, yet the readers are not offered a simple solve-the-case sequence of events, not are

they offered simple representation of Umay Bayülgen's incredible intelligence. On the contrary, it is seen that crucial pieces of information are communicated by Defne through different means, and the conclusion is drawn this way. Umay Bayülgen does not stand out because of her detective-like, evidence-collecting skills. Age, economic or social status is not important. Umay Bayülgen stands as a wise kam before the reader. As a mature wise kam, her analysis of the problems of the people and nature around her, some important information and events created in the plot; Her wisdom, mystical powers and resolution with her foresight are the prominent features. In the novels, the problem of at least one important character between Defne's disappearance and her return is also included in the plot. In this process, it is seen that the problems of other characters are also resolved. Since Umay Bayülgen is the important factor in solving these problems, our study will focus on Umay Bayülgen.

The character of Umay Bayülgen is before us as an Istanbul woman. In none of the novels her age is specified precisely, the 70s are pronounced from the mouths of the other characters. It can be said that Umay Bayülgen's life between the ages of 60 and 80 is witnessed in 3 novels that follow each other chronologically. The most remarkable features about her appearance is the fact that she is thin and that she braids her hair. As far as her clothes are concerned, the hems of her skirt and arms have fringes hanging down like Red-Indian clothing. Every book from the trilogy mentions that her clothing and style is not coherent with her age. When her behavior and attitude is examined, it is seen that she is an energetic person with high knowledge and respectable manners, and also a person who possesses some supernatural powers.

The parallels with the real life also enables the reader to comment on certain things. According to the timeline given in the books, Umay Bayülgen must have been around the year 1930. She is one of the first children of the Republic. She studied pharmaceutics at the university. The name of the person she marries is Korkut, and he is a doctor. The fact that she was able to get an education during those years when there are still major problems around girls' education is an important indicator. After studying pharmaceutics, it is stated that she worked in the field as well, and officially retired even though she continued working in her own worksop. However, the period of time is not mentioned. We are only presented with a wise and mature woman as events transpire. Even though she does not necessarily possess the traditional qualities of the society, she does not engage in direct conflicts with the society. However, the fact that there is no conflict is not due to the passive behavior, on the contrary, the character is

quite assertive. The lack of conflict might be due to the character's age. This conclusion is drawn from the fact that in every situation in which Umay enters, the men judge her behavior regarding to the fact that it does not match with her age.

“The moment the elderly woman entered the room, her behavior that did not suit to her age caught the attention. The grandmother of the woman who disappeared did not have either dyed and styled hair like many of her peers, or covered it with a headscarf, nor did she have a hijab. Instead, she had two braids hanging down from the sides of her head like little girls, with small beads on the ends. The woman looked younger than her age even though she was probably in her 70s, healthier and energetic, and the average-height woman had fringes hanging down from the hems of her sage-colored linen dress like a Red-Indian. She was holding the white straw hat and orange, round straw bag that looked like sun on her lap firmly.” (Uzuner:2012:2).

Apart from being regarded as odd, the fact that Umay Bayülgen never holds her words back and her assertiveness whenever she first meets someone is also not welcomed:

“Not wanting to use bad language against a woman who was the same age as his great grandmother, Inspector Ümit pursed his lips and begged for patience as the grandmother of the missing reporter Defne continued with a smile that could only be encountered in children's tales, a smile that warmed the insides of any human, a smile a grandmother would send to her grandchild.” (Uzuner:2012:12).

As seen from this excerpt, even though her assertiveness is not welcomed, her ability of persuasion is mysterious and excellent. The profile of Umay Bayülgen is a rebellion against the usual female profile in the society even with this section alone. Although the inconsistency of male characters' in their thoughts of her clothing is attributed to her age at first, the fact that her discourses reach the point of correcting men's mistakes and are consistent shows that the difference is not a simple sign of aging.

In the works, Umay Bayülgen's influence on the people she is with in the environments she is with is not highlighted by showing her age or maturity. There is no feeling that an elder is being consulted in the scenes. On the contrary, Umay Bayülgen stands out with her incompatibility without entering into a

serious conflict with her surroundings. Her clothes with tassels on her arms and skirts represent the contradiction from the very first moment, especially in the environments she enters with her gray hair plaited on both sides like a child. Details should be looked into to analyze her influence on people:

“Your name is Kaman, Umit Haydar Kaman, son...”

....

... they look for their daughter 40 hours after she disappeared, they come looking for my surname, place of birth, and family... They only know my middle name Haydar, which is used in family and official documents.”(Uzuner:2012:12).

It is important that she tells some information in an unknown way Although she never knew Inspector Ümit Kaman, knowing her middle name is given to the reader with internal monologue, while in some scenes she gives it directly with dialogue. The words of the Governor of Çorum, Sabahattin Ali Okur, in a dialogue in the Earth novel are a good example:

“You know, Miss Umay, when a person listens to you, they are reminded of the fact that life is a whole. You have technique that saves people from the small picture and carries them onto the big picture, gives them a relief, and encourages them to think more comprehensively. This should be the reason why you have a syrup-like, soothing, alleviating effect. I realize now that what I’m describing is actually charisma.” (Uzuner:2015:250).

Even though her age alleviates the reaction she receives, the fact that her rebellion is effective is due to Umay Bayülgen’s wisdom and her mystical effect. While the mystical effect is given in the works in a close relationship with the Kamanism and herbalism, at first it is given only as intuition. In the next stages, it is not contradicted with the positive mind when it is given by associating it with herbalism and Kamanism. It can be seen that this is established gradually. While treating people’s ailments with methods accepted by positive science, it is not overlooked that she always carries some materials with her:

“ ‘Semahat, my dear, I would have alcohol and a bandage in my bag; take them out for me,’ said Umay Bayülgen, pointing to her orange, round straw bag. Semahat would compare this bag to the sun. This has the shade of

orange that only Van Gogh could achieve. So much so that, those who see it would feel that their insides are being washed by light.” (Uzuner:2015:189).

In the novel *Earth*, when the character of Karaca Yörüklü is sick in the hospital, Umay Bayülgen intervenes and the materials she wants from her bag are the materials that can be found and used easily in the hospital. It is also seen that she makes similar interventions to other characters, but the actual treatment is different. In the *Water* novel, it is important that the character of Semahat does not go out of her house and shop for years, goes out to the street and goes to see the injured dolphin, and the fears and hesitations she experiences are told three times in a row, and that she meets Umay Bayülgen.

“Umay Bayülgen, instead of answering her, reached to her right hand, and squeezed it softly between her two palms. Her fingers, which would be considered too long for a woman of medium height, first spread a thin pain as if an acupuncture needle had been pricked on some points on Semahat’s hand, then created a sudden relief, a tremendous relaxation that spread from her arms to her head.”

This effect is not like a simple intervention or a small dressing. In the book *Water*, Sahaf Semahat is portrayed as a mature woman whose past is unknown, and who cannot stay around people. She filled her world with books, and isolated herself from people. She comes across Umay Bayülgen when she goes out to see the dolphin where Defne Kaman disappears. Umay Bayülgen senses the moment she sees Semahat that she is troubled, and starts the treatment by touching her hands. Then, Sahaf Semahat is welcomed into the family and gets gradually better. It is also important that neither Umay Bayülgen or Defne Kaman questions Semahat with questions regarding her past. In the third book, *Air*, Semahat’s problem is unveiled by itself, and Umay Bayülgen’s help while Semahat is getting over her problem is palpable.

“The healing the air brings is hidden in one’s coming to their senses. I wonder when we are going to consider saving the world as an emergency? Look, there is only one cure for you, dear Semahat, and that is you confronting your biological mother.” (Uzuner:2018:115).

She does not withhold her support as she advises Semahat to confront her problems and solve them and says that she would establish the time for a meet up only when she is ready. Her support does not consist of simple words of encouragement. After a while, Semahat cannot keep off from Umay's influence, and starts repeating the conversations to which she once opposed.

Walking to the car where her brother and mother was in, starstruck, Semahat.... turned to Karaca, and spoke as though she had been waiting for her cue for years to come and speak her lines of a play:

(Semahat) *“Some scars can only be healed by confrontation. Confrontation is the water that would extinguish the fire in a human's or a society's soul. Confrontation cleans the conscience, purifies the air. Confrontation is cure.”*

(Karaca) *“ I swear you brainwashed this girl Granma Umay! These are your words. You hypnotized the girl, didn't you?...”* (Uzuner:2018:122).

Karaca's wording “hypnotized” also shows Umay Bayülgen's disposition on Semahat. Both physical and mental treatment of Umay Bayülgen is not only for women. True to its name, it helps everyone like Umay, the nature goddess of the middle world. The presence of Umay Bayülgen is also seen in the marriage of Inspector Ümit Kaman in the water novel with Tasvir, who although they love each other, they could not marry due to the difference of Alevism and Sunnism, because the families do not allow it. When Tasvir learns that she would be forced to marry someone, she attempted suicide by taking drugs and was in the hospital, while Umay Bayülgen Hızır goes into a trance when she tells the stories of the beech tree and the prophet dolphin to Sahaf Semahat:

“... caressed the piece of beech tree that her granddaughter Defne forgot to take with her on the day she disappeared. Then, she closed her eyes and started to murmur a song that resembled of a lullaby. It wasn't clear what she was saying, but she was singing a melody that brought relief. ... Semahat waited for five to ten minutes, however, the elderly woman was still shivering as though it wasn't hot, sitting on her chair eyes closed with one hand on the piece of beech tree....”

...

‘Three people!’ murmured Umay, her eyes still closed and her body still. ‘Three people standing in a hall. Good news. Don’t worry,’ said Umay, and opened her eyes.

...

“I didn’t see a dream, the dream came to me, and I closed my eyes in order to see it.”

“Excuse me? Oh, sure... But I have to make a call... You don’t know that but the police officer has been at the hospital since last night... Tasvir... One of our mutual friends is a little sick... I need to ask what happened, if you’ll excuse me...” said Umay and typed in Ümit’s number.

“The dream that came was about him. There will only be three people. There is another person with them. They have received good news. Don’t worry dear, the police is fine, thank God!”

“... When Ümit didn’t answer, Semahat called Tasvir’s brother Yunus. “But they are already three people anyway: The police, Tasvir, and Yunus...”

...

“... when she turned to let Umay know, she saw her eyes closed again, wincing. The elderly woman, with a voice that did not nearly resemble her own, one of these three people, three full moons, three days, or three hours later, a red belt will be attach to their waist. However, it seems that it is of great importance that Defne is there! You are there, too, but... Semahat, you, you have a beech on the node of your life! Node and beech, beech and node!” (Uzuner:2012:204).

Umay Bayülgen, who reported the wedding news about Inspector Ümit Kaman and Tasvir, did not only give information about the current situation and the short future. She also gives information about the Inspector and Sahaf Semahat, who is affiliated with Tasvir. It is also stated that Sahaf Semahat will solve the problems related to her family in the future, with the discourse of “node and beech, beech and node”, which will be fully understood in the Air novel.

It is seen that Umay Bayülgen solves the problems not only of people who approach her positively, but also of men with attitude. While the character named Şakir Yurtkan in the Air novel is about to start an argument, she gives

advice for children while smothering the conversation and then giving the good news:

“Şakir, son! I forgot to tell you. My name is Umay, my family gave me my name inspired by the Goddess of Nature Umay in the Turk Mythology. See, your family will have a baby soon. Carry the color yellow on you, we believe that this would protect the baby from hepatitis, and if you have a girl, give her my name as middle name...” (Uzuner:2018:182).

Although the character came to them wanting to fight, he did not disrespect them. However, in the novel *Toprak*, Provincial Police Chief Muhtar Kōrağaoğlu, who is indifferent to dogmatic thoughts and has an extremely masculine point of view, confronts the reader with his harsh demeanor. He advocates being a traditionalist despite the existence of a life-threatening condition in the birth of his daughter and the doctors recommending a cesarean section. Although the probability of death is high with the motto of will from Allah, he does not give up on her insistence on normal birth.

“(Police chief) ‘My son in-law came from Ankara just a few moments ago, and immediately went to delivery room. So if there was to be delivery, he’s gonna enter! Have you heard of such thing? When my lady was giving birth, I didn’t even stop by the door of the maternity home, let alone looking at her and the child covered in blood. I was already running the job at the birth of my three daughters, my mother-in-law helped a lot. May Allah bless her. I was a young inspector candidate at that time. It was not a ‘man’s job’ to care about the issues of birth, women and children. And it won’t be! It’s not a man’s job! Then the balances that protect us will be disrupted, you know, dear governor, you should never spoil your family!’” (Uzuner:2015:51).

When the governor, who is bored with the thoughts of the principal about fatherhood, replies that when he has a grandchild, he will take the grandchild for a walk around orum with a baby carriage, the narrator conveys the thoughts of the principal to the reader:

“While the chief of police postponed giving a good word to the governor – and similar men – whom he described as one of the types who put the ‘Turkish Family Structure’ in jeopardy because he found it ‘too democrat’, urban and innovative, again by saying ‘patience!’ ...” (Uzuner:2015:52).

The manager's approach is not only culturally conservative. It also has a standing opposition to the positive science and necessities that today brings. When he finds out the cesarean decision of the doctors:

"(Police chief) Do you hear what you're saying son, I'm not gonna let them cut up my daughter! They are doing these surgeries for money' growled the chief. Then, he took a deep breath and turned to the governor: "What is this other than splurge, dear governor? Why can't our women give birth the way Allah demands in this country anymore?" (Uzuner:2015:53).

Even though he is perceived as arguing the cesarean is done because of capitalism, the chief's reason for opposing to the procedure is different, and he blatantly states this:

"No, I would not let them cut my daughter, governor! Everything should be the way they are meant to be, the way Allah demands them to be..." (Uzuner:2015:54).

The communication of the chief with Umay Bayülgen is also suitable for the personality deduced from the above discourses. However, even though he does not directly respond to Umay Bayülgen, Umay Bayülgen, who witnesses his behavior, chooses to be unresponsive. However, she later shows her reaction to the principal when she tells the story of an ancient period with a similar name to her surname. When she finishes the story, which contains some painful lessons, with a positive prayer, the police chief begins to question his thoughts and actions. As a result, the issue of the surgery of his daughter is resolved. The fact that this intervention coincided with the time when the life-threatening danger of the chief's daughter increased and the birth was completed without any problems also leaves a significant impact on the reader. Another effect of Umay Bayülgen that can be described as supernatural is related to Şakir Yurtkan, mentioned above. During the chat, Umay Bayülgen gives a good news about him.

"... Şakir Yurtkan stood still for a moment... How could this elderly woman know that he was going to have a daughter two weeks from then?" (Uzuner:2018:183).

It leaves an impression that Umay Bayülgen states certain information even though the characters do not share them with her. From then on, Şakir Yurtkan becomes like the chauffeur of Umay Bayülgen and is seen taking her wherever she wants.

Although this situation seems to be similar to the situation with Inspector Ümit Kaman, some information is given, such as following the Inspector in Water. It is also explained to the reader that it is possible to make predictions and evaluations about the future by proceeding from the observation. However, the situation here is more mysterious. There is no one around Umay Bayülgen who knows that Şakir is to have a child. The relationship in which Umay Bayülgen's mystical influence is most clearly expressed is with the character of Governor Sabahattin Ali Okur in the novel Earth. Although the governor has a masculine demeanor like the provincial police chief, he is softer and more moderate. Even though he does not want to be in the circle of Umay Bayülgen's influence, it is also seen that he cannot take an open stance against her. In the later parts of the novel, he confesses to Umay Nine about her influence:

“You know, Miss Umay, when a person listens to you, they are reminded of the fact that life is a whole. You have technique that saves people from the small picture and carries them onto the big picture, gives them a relief, and encourages them to think more comprehensively. This should be the reason why you have a syrup-like, soothing, alleviating effect. I realize now that what I'm describing is actually charisma.” (Uzuner:2015:250).

Umay Bayülgen's mystical influence is most intense and open in her communication with Kemal Yörüklü. Other features such as herbalism and wisdom are also given in this communication. The position of Umay Bayülgen's Kamanism, shamanism, nature and mythology is most clearly and intensely given in the novel Earth and through Kemal Yörüklü. Although it has been 10 years or more since Kemal Yörüklü lost his wife, he has not recovered from the trauma. In the novel Earth, a meeting with Umay Bayülgen is given in Istanbul at a time when it seems that Kemal's loss of his wife is not long after the flashbacks. He does research on some recommendations and goes to Umay Bayülgen after he is convinced that she was not a fraud. When he goes with his son Karaca, Umay Bayülgen's husband Korkut Bayülgen, who is alive at that time, talks to Kemal's son Karaca. There are also stories of the Beech tree and Dede scare from Turkish mythology, referring to the lightning that fell on the beech tree in the garden of their house on the day Defne Kaman was born. It is stated that Defne,

Korkut Bayülgen and Umay Bayülgen formed a family bond with the Yörüklü family and did not break the bond until the time of the case. With this 10-year communication, it is seen that while Karaca's education and life have evolved in a good direction, Kemal Yörüklü has not progressed. Detailed information about the middle world, the lower world, Umay Ana and Erlik Han in Turkish Mythology is given in Kemal's dialogues with Umay Bayülgen. Although not explicitly stated in this section, Umay Bayülgen implicitly directed Kemal Yörüklü to Erlik Han. In the novel, Kemal's meeting with Erlik Han happens through a dream. Information about mythology is given in Kemal's conversation with Erlik Han in his dream. It is seen that this information complements what Umay Bayülgen conveys to the reader through dialogues from time to time:

“(Erlik Han) Umay Ene, is our nature goddess. She is the god of the Upper World, located in the seventeenth floor of the Heavens: Tengri, the precious wife of Mr. Ülgen, the lady of all three worlds. In fact, the goddess of nature is the one who governs all other forces and life. If they themselves appeared to you, that must be why you came here!” (Uzuner:2015:379).

With this guidance and the dream that follows, Kemal Yörüklü is also treated spiritually. The episode of Kemal Yörüklü's meeting with Erlik Han is the pinnacle of Umay Bayülgen's pairing with Umay Ana (Ene) and her association with nature. This is clearly seen in the other part of Erlik Han's dialogue with Kemal Yörüklü given below:

(Kemal Yörüklü) “To appear?” What a way to appear! But, our Umay Nine is not the utopian, mythological person. She is a pharmacist from İstanbul, and a hale and hearty lady. Praise be, she is astute enough to keep all of us in order.”

(Erlik Han) “Of course, she is! Even though she does not like me very much, she never ignores my value. I, on the other hand, have always appreciated Tabiat Ene. In the end, all of us in this world must get used to one another in order to ensure the sustainability of life. Some heedless people hold the devil responsible for the evils of the world, and they blame me for the same reason, but everyone in their right mind knows that the evil is done by the will of the ‘Middle-earths’” (Uzuner:2015:379)

It is given many times in the series where life depends on Umay Ana. As the continuation of nature and life is given through the discourses of Erlik Han

as mystical, positivist rational explanations are also given intensively. In the novels, it is emphasized by Umay Bayülgen that nature has its own order and can protect itself when lived according to it.

“(Umay) ‘In our ancient Kam tradition, this region where we mortals breathe is called ‘middle earth’. Every soul in ‘Middle-earth’ came to life to help another soul. For example, you, dear governor, with the seed of kindness planted in your heart as a child, who knows how many good deeds you have done, touched souls and made twisted necks stand up... Again, for example, a snake did good to farmers, you, me and our children by eating mice harmful to the crops in the fields throughout its life.” (Uzuner:2015:248).

As it can be seen above, when talking about nature, it is also felt that Umay Bayülgen is a blood, as it is constantly mentioned about the cam.

“They were on the Republic Square. ‘The weather is sick!’ said Umay Nine. ‘The weather is sick and this is very bad news for all of us.’ Then she took Semahat’s arm:

‘The healing of the air is conditioned to the humans coming to their senses. I wonder when are we going to consider saving our planet as an emergency?’” (Uzuner:2015:115)

Umay Bayülgen’s narration with the characters close to her, with the mystical aspect of nature outweighing, turns into positive rational expressions in her dialogues with characters who are not close:

(Umay) “ ‘In our ancient Kam tradition, this region where we mortals breathe is called ‘middle earth’. Every soul in ‘Middle-earth’ came to life to help another soul. For example, you, dear governor, with the seed of kindness planted in your heart as a child, who knows how many good deeds you have done, touched souls and made twisted necks stand up... Again, for example, a snake did good to farmers, you, me and our children by eating mice harmful to the crops in the fields throughout its life. When the number of snakes increases enough to wipe out the mouse, this time the owl and the hawk, and a fox begin to do the farmers and the land a favor. For example, if bees didn’t exist, fruits wouldn’t either, trees would disappear. And now this deer is the same...”

(Governor) “...But all the things you’ve said are the natural elements of ecological cycle...”

(Umay) “*Oh, dear governor, dear son... The fact that Inspector Ümit looked after Semahat’s second-hand bookstore and that he accompanied me now in Çorum thanks to this, Güneş Bey saved Karaca when he was injured last night, Karaca brought us hope in his palms, aren’t these a part of your ‘ecological cycle’? Acting shoulder to shoulder to survive, it’s the instinct of our kind, debt of gratitude...*” (Uzuner:2015::248).

In addition to the pairing of Umay Bayülgen and Umay Ana, the method of explaining the bond with nature and our life and kamanism pairings is also used for herbalism. In the three novels of the series, it is repeatedly stated that Umay Nine heals with products obtained from nature. The diagnosis she made to the waiter who came to serve them while they were sitting in a cafe in the water novel is a good example:

“... *Umay Bayülgen reached out and touched his hand, on which he was holding a notebook to take orders, pulled it towards herself...*” Then she turned his palm and examined the inside.

(Umay) “... *Do you use alcohol a lot, son! Does your family have a history of cirrhosis?*”

Hearing this, the young man’s hand, who was stunned, was turning red in contrast to the bitter yellow color of the back of his hand.” (Uzuner:2012:190).

The disease symptoms leading to the diagnosis are often given to the reader. It is also shown that what Umay Bayülgen does does not conflict with the positive mind and even is in coordination. While giving treatment advice to the waiter in his own way, Umay Bayülgen also advises him to go to the doctor:

“... *I’m going to recommend you a natural, curative prescription. Also, I’m going to give you the address of a doctor in Bahariye, they will not charge you. But you have to promise that you’ll see the doctor.*” (Uzuner:2012:191).

Similar prescriptions are given throughout the trilogy. While describing the importance of nature and the states of the gods, kamss are not just a simple element in the natural balance and in relation to nature. It is explained through the relationship of Umay Bayülgen and Defne Kaman that one of her duties is the guardian of nature. Defne Kaman always went to the top of the problems in the first two novels, while trying to help everyone around her, she fell into dangerous situations and had to hide. Umay Bayülgen appeared in these situations and tried to protect and support her grandchild, the person to whom she would transfer the role. In these processes, attitudes and behaviors that are created to protect nature in general as well as helping people and animals are displayed. Information and discussions are given with nature through hydroelectric power plants, nuclear energy, water and dolphin and Earth and deer. In fact, internet piracy (hacker) is associated with nature through Karaca Yörüklü in Earth novel. However, Defne Kaman's disappearance in Air, the last of the trilogy, does not happen because she encounters a danger. The main problem is that Umay Bayülgen has aged well in the Air novel, that the kam is about to pass to Defne Kaman, and Ayperi, the niece of Defne Kaman, the youngest of the family, who will be the successor Kam, turns 11 years old. In the scenes where Defne Kaman questions herself whether she is ready to take responsibility, it is also revealed that she is trying to protect nature and people, namely the middle world, as a kam:

(Defne) “ *I'm going through a hard time. Look, they judge me for my thoughts, they fire me, then they try to kill nature in front of my eyes and I can't do anything. Even my grandmother Umay has gotten tired. If she leaves, I'm not strong and knowledgeable enough to take her place. I feel suffocated. I constantly trip and fall down. Even the man I love, my dearest friend Güneş left me. My little kam niece Ayperi is still yoo young, do I even have the strength to raise her? I don't have anyone. The reason for these weak dreams is only the insecurity, uncertainty, disappointment and chain of hope caused by the undesirable situations I am in... that is why you are not real, you are just a nightmare, you handsome eagle! You are a weak, dark nightmare! A dark eagle! Leave you dark iron bird!*” she said.” (Uzuner:2018:191).

In the scene where it is not clear whether it is a dream or a daylight, Defne Kaman saw a big eagle with iron wings in front of her hotel room and talked to it The only problem Umay Bayülgen cannot solve is this one. This situation

should be the indicator of Defne Kaman's becoming a mature shaman. As a matter of fact, it is an indication of this situation that Umay Bayülgen returns home to Istanbul and wait for her to return home by telling the reader that Defne Kaman has no choice but to solve her own problem.

Although Umay Bayülgen appears as the most important character in the trilogy, as seen above, she is not the only woman. Defne Kaman, Sahaf Semahat, Tasvir, Kumru Çalığıuşu are the people who are against the masculine stance with their symbolizing both the victim and the feminine stance. Defne Kaman is introduced to the reader through her mother and older sister, who are not disturbed by their masculine positioning. They are the ones who nicknamed Defne "misfit". Defne Kaman's big sister is detailedly described in the book *Water*:

"Mr. Inspector, when Defne was a child, she used to disappear in public like this, do all kinds of nonsense to attract attention, drive us crazy with her pointless questions and games. I mean, you can understand why I've been very depressed because mine isn't like everyone's sister, believe me. She's a misfit, always has been." (Uzuner:2012:3).

When we ask who Defne Kaman is, some information is clearer than her grandmother Umay Bayülgen, while some information is almost nonexistent. Defne's birthday (19/07/1975) is openly mentioned. In the trilogy, the process that starts from the age of 34 in the cases covers the 40s. In the first book, she disappears on a ferry while she is investigating femicide. The reader sees Defne Kaman only in dreams and notes in *Water*. These two points are told through Inspector Ümit Kaman. Defne Kaman has an increasing presence in the second book, *Earth*. She is depicted in official meetings until the day she disappears, with Karaca Yörüklü, her father Ali Kaman and his later wife, archaeologist Güneş Aytan. The danger to life and disappearance, which will be the main tension element in the plot of *Earth*, is presented to the reader through Defne. However, her communication with others is not as detailed as her communications with Umay Nine. On the other hand, some information about kamanism and nature is also given through Defne Kaman. By giving some parts of the subjects to be told in the novel through Defne, it has been ensured that the reader could see the whole by combining the parts, so that the reader is more actively involved in the novel.

In the novel *Water*, the fact that Defne Kaman is kam is given implicitly. Her red hair is braided just like her grandmother. Her clothes are similar to her

grandmother's. Her behavior is also inconsistent with the behaviors predicted by the dominant masculine thought. While giving the nickname "misfit" over her mother and older sister, it is made clear to the reader through dialogues and descriptions that they are the images and voices of the dominant masculine thought, making Defne Kaman clearer in the reader's thoughts:

"The sister of missing Defne Kaman was a beautiful woman. The sexy effect she created with her long blonde hair, her sunburned beautiful legs free under her trendy mini dress, and her high heeled harem style slippers was felt throughout the police station as she entered." (Uzuner:2012:4).

Defne Kaman disappears when her life is in danger in Water. In Earth, the more she deepens her investigation with her childhood friend Karaca Yörüklü, the bigger the threat gets, and she is eventually kidnapped. All of these situations are for women and environment. Even though her grandmother and her are successor and predecessors, they are like one person. While the mind and common sense side is Umay Bayülgen, the action adventure or mischief side is like Defne Kaman. The relationship with nature and mystical elements are also given through Defne, but unlike her grandmother, the transition period of Kamanism is given through Defne Kaman. Defne learns that the reason her father left them was the request of Umay Bayülgen. It is seen that the transition is given indirectly, as she learns that the reason for this request of her beloved grandmother is for the training of the Kamanism and questions her relationship with her grandmother. With this questioning process, what previously has been told to the reader in other ways such as the lightning strike on the beech tree in the garden of their house on the day the laurel wedge was born, the attitudes and behaviors that will be considered as a personality disharmony are re-explained by associating them with Kamanism. It is also explained that special skills are not sufficient for Kamanism, and that a special education is also needed.

The other important person in the novel is the Sahaf Semahat. Sahaf Semahat is the person who is given as a victim of the dominant masculine view. As a child, she was abused by her maternal uncle and became pregnant. When this situation is revealed in the family, it is stated that his mother had the child aborted illegally and put pressure on him so that no one from the outside could hear it. Her life in fear of being in Istanbul, where she escaped from her home behind a pick-up truck, is briefly described, and her life in voluntary imprisonment by dedicating herself to the booksellers' shop. However,

these details are not revealed in the book *Water* where Sahaf Semahat is first introduced. The reader becomes aware in the last book of the trilogy, *Air*. Only the troubles of Umay Bayülgen and Sahaf Semahat were perceived when they first met. The importance of the novels in the plot is mostly in solving the codes that Defne Kaman gives when she communicates. She deciphers the codes from *Kutadgu Bilig* or transfers them to Umay Nine, befitting her area of expertise. It can be said that she represents women who have been victimized in the society since the first novel and have not been able to stand up completely in the dominant masculine society, although they somehow managed to get out of that environment. Her rise will be thanks to Umay Nine, who made the first awakening in the novel *Water*. In the novel *Hava*, Sahaf Semahat could not even bear to see her family, although they apologized when they somehow found out that she had come to Kayseri and confronted her. However, with the support of Umay Nine, she believes that she has to face them and is able to get rid of her trouble at the end of *Air*.

Two more female characters, one in the novel *Water* and the other in the novel *Air*, are significant for the perspective of our study. Tasvir is the character in *Water*. The person whom Inspector Ümit Kaman loves, who has an important role in the *Water* novel, is the person whose families do not allow them to marry by causing a problem of Alevism and Sunnism, even though they want to get married. Even though they try, they cannot resolve this issue. Here again, under the covert influence of Umay Nine, at the end of the novel, the two lovers reunite and get married. Tasvir's presence is mostly seen through Inspector Ümit Kaman and Sahaf Semahat. Tasvir is also one of those women who have faced the pressure of men-dominated society. There are two different aspects in terms of subject and action. It is preventing her from marrying her loved one due to differences in religious beliefs and then demanding to have an arranged marriage by force that is the difference in subject. The difference in action is the fact that Tasvir commits suicide as a means to escape. Her being rescued after her attempt and being allowed to marry the person she loves symbolizes her full return to life.

The other woman is the character named Kumru Çalığışu, which we see in the book *Air*. She differs from two other victim women by the fact that she has never been victimized. The lawyer is a young woman. No information has been given on her age, family, or past. For Defne Kaman's defense, she met with the Kayseri Bar Association and organized the women's lawyers there. It can be said that Kumru, who does not have any data on the difficulties in her life,

represents active women in social life, who are lucky compared to the other two examples and who are sensitive to women's rights and the environment.

4. Conclusion

In general, it is seen that various information is given on Turkish mythology, environmental awareness and women's rights in the context of woman-nature, woman-kam relations through Umay Bayülgen and Defne Kaman. It is important to follow more than one method while giving information, as it leads the reader to active reading. On the other hand, the status of women in today's society and the difficult situations they are in are given through other female characters. Sahaf Semahat is a woman who was sexually abused in the family at a young age and lost her ability to give birth when she had an illegal abortion. Despite her young age and severe traumas, she is an example of women who managed to escape from their family and try to hold on to life by forgetting their womanhood. The undying womanhood inside her comes back to life with the help of Umay Bayülgen. It is also an important example in terms of showing that womanhood will continue while she has lost her fertility. The character of Tasvir is also important in showing other aspects of family and social pressure. It shows how religious views and social pressure take away a woman's right to make her own choices. Unlike Sahaf Semahat, Tasvir chooses suicide as salvation. The fact that the Tasvir does not have the possibility of escaping should also be chosen in the trilogy to show that the women who do not have the opportunity to escape physically tend to commit suicide. On the other hand, women who can live happily and peacefully without being victimized in a society dominated by masculine thought are also depicted. It is given through the character of Kumru that women should be conscious about women's rights and sensitive about the environment, even if they are not victims. Throughout the three books, it is not only the social pressure on women that has been shown. In ancient times, the different status of women in society has been directly explained to the reader within the framework of Kamanism and mythology. This done through Umay Bayülgen and Defne Kaman. It is mentioned in more than one place that Kam status is important and women are kamss. It is important to pair Umay Bayülgen with Umay Ana(Ene) here. Woman has been put at the center of nature with the woman-kam relationship. While these associations highlight the position of women in society, it is seen that the reader's attention is directed to environmental problems. For these reasons, the trilogy "The Adventures of the Misfit Defne

Kaman” stands out as successful works in that they reveal that our society was very different from today’s in the past, with an intense expression through the relationship between woman - Shamanism - nature.

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